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POPE IN GERMANY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

There is still a wide difference of opinion in regard to the influence which Pope exerted upon German literature in the eighteenth century. Hettner, for example, seeks to minimize this influence, and holds that only the weaknesses of Pope, not his excellences, had passed over to his German imitators.¹ It is also widely assumed that Pope had nothing that appealed to the new literary taste developed during the latter part of the century, that amid the enthusiasm which writers like Shakespeare aroused, Pope was completely forgotten. This is the opinion of one of his recent critics who says: "In Deutschland nahm das Interesse für Pope ganz und gar ab, als das strahlende Gestirn eines Shakespeare zu leuchten anfang." ² There are those, on the other hand, who regard Pope's influence as much more vital and lasting. Max Koch,³ quite contrary to Hettner, thinks that Pope's most important characteristic, his style, did much toward the development of the German poetic language and that some of the greatest literary men of the eighteenth century, such as Lessing, Wieland, and Schiller, learned important lessons from him.

Extensive proof for any of these more or less contradictory opinions in regard to Pope is still lacking. The critical studies dealing with the subject are few and limit themselves to special phases.⁴ I am offering here, therefore, the first part of a somewhat detailed investigation covering the entire question. It is my purpose (1) to show the extent to which Pope was read by the Germans of the

¹ "Gesch. d. d. Lit. im 18. Jahrh.," 4. Aufl., I, 306.

² Karl Graner, "Die Übersetzungen von Popes Essay on Criticism und ihr Verhältnis zum Original" (Aschaffenburg, 1910), p. 3.

³ "Ueber die Beziehungen der Eng. Lit. zur Deutschen im 18. Jahrh." (Leipzig, 1883), pp. 12 ff.

⁴ In addition to the work of Graner already cited, should be mentioned: Erich Petzet, *Die deutschen Nachahmungen des Popeschen Lockenraubes*, "Zs. vergl. Litg.," Neue Folge, Bd. IV (1891), pp. 409 ff.; R. Maak, "Ueber Popes Einfluss auf die Idylle und das Lehrgedicht in Deutschland" (Graz, 1895); A. Frick, "Ueber Popes Einfluss auf Hagedorn." *Progr.* (Wien, 1900). A brief sketch of Pope's influence in Germany is found in Albrecht Deetz, "Alexander Pope. Ein Beitrag zur Litg. des 18. Jahrh., nebst Proben Popescher Dichtungen" (Leipzig, 1876).

eighteenth century, (2) to give an account of their critical attitude toward him, (3) to trace the influences which he had upon their literature.

GERMAN TRANSLATIONS OF POPE

The present study will limit itself chiefly to the first of the points outlined, an examination of the various translations of Pope's works during the eighteenth century and a statement of the conditions under which they originated.

To the German translator, Pope offered many difficulties. Although such well-known poets as Brockes, Hagedorn, Eschenburg, and Bürger are counted among his translators, the work of none of them received the distinction that was accorded Ebert's translation of Young for example, a work which so far excelled its competitors as to discourage further attempts.

It is undoubtedly no mere accident that Ebert, who enjoyed in his time the reputation of being the greatest German translator from the English, avoided Pope. His experience as a translator and his excellent knowledge of both languages showed him at once the almost insurmountable difficulties which he who would translate Pope adequately would meet. While the sonorous and loosely joined lines of Young may be satisfactorily rendered in equally sonorous prose, that is not the case with the terse, highly polished and sententious couplets of Pope. Pope without his style is no longer Pope, and any translator that leaves this out of consideration gives his readers no adequate conception of his author.

It is, I think, generally agreed that a translation which disregards Pope's meter misses one of the chief characteristics of his style. There is no other metrical form which is so well suited to express his pointed antitheses as the heroic couplet. But this metrical form was new to the Germans of the eighteenth century and presented difficulties due to essential differences in the two languages. The German language has a much greater tendency to compound words and is much more highly inflected than the English. As a natural consequence, the same idea can generally be expressed in fewer syllables in English than in German, and if we add to this natural terseness of the English language the unusual compactness of Pope's style, the difficulty of confining Pope's antithesis to the couplet is at once

apparent. In addition to this, Pope's thoughts, often commonplace though very pleasing in the polished setting which he gives them, are likely to appear flat in the idiom of another language.

But the German translator was at another great disadvantage. The English language had attained a very high degree of development a century before Pope began to write, while the German language, well on into the second half of the eighteenth century, was still crude and unwieldy. The change which the latter underwent between 1740 and the advent of Goethe and Schiller is truly remarkable. It will be seen that the numerous translations and imitations of Pope did much toward bringing about this change. The conciseness and highly finished language of Pope was a topic ever upon the lips of the German critic, so that many a German writer, to acquire these much desired characteristics of style, schooled himself in the poetry of Pope. We will now see with what success the translators of Pope coped with these difficulties.

1. *Pope First Entered Germany Through France*

It is entirely natural that France should be the most important early medium through which the fame of Pope was extended to other European countries. Pope had learned much from France. His literary doctrines were in a large measure those of French pseudo-classicism represented by Boileau. The work of Pope was received, therefore, in France with immediate and almost universal favor, while the works of Shakespeare and Milton were regarded as barbarous. Among the noted French critics it was particularly Voltaire who by his lavish praise did much toward directing the attention of Europe to Pope.¹

The Germans on the other hand, with Gottsched as the chief exponent of French literary theories, had learned to accept without question the critical opinions of France. It was, therefore, largely through French translations and through the numerous reviews and criticisms which during the third and fourth decades of the century circulated in such journals as the "*Mémoires de Travaux*," the "*Journal des Scavans*" and the "*Nouvelle Bibliothèque*" that Germany made its first acquaintance with Pope. German criticism of Pope

¹ Cf. Archibald Ballantyne, "*Voltaire's Visit to England (1726-29)*," (London, 1893), pp. 72 and 86.

during this period confined itself in a large measure to translations from these journals or to reviews of French translations.¹

On account of the position of authority in matters social, political, and literary, which France had acquired in Germany as well as on the continent generally, the French language had become the second mother-tongue among the Germans. English, on the other hand, was a language little known in Germany until the rapidly growing interest in English literature made its acquirement among the cultured a necessity. With the general interest in Pope aroused, it then became a question of either reading him in the French or translating him from French translations into German. It was by the latter method that the first German translation of Pope, that of "The Rape of the Lock," appeared in 1739 in prose by an unknown translator.²

By the title of the work the author conveys the impression that he had made the translation directly from the English, and in the introduction he says nothing to the contrary. But there is every evidence that he had nothing before him except the French prose translation of 1728.³ A comparison of the two works makes this at once apparent. The Frenchman prides himself in his introduction on his faithfulness to the English⁴ but takes great liberties with his text. Whole lines are omitted, other ideas added, and the sense of the English is often badly distorted. In all of these deviations the German follows his French model religiously. His meager introduction also contains nothing not found in the introduction of the French work.

Two years later was published a translation of the "Essay on Man" under similar circumstances.⁵ According to the introduction it is the work of the leisure hours of a busy public official who lays

¹ Cf., e.g., the early criticisms of Pope in "Neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen," Leipzig; and the "Frankfurter gelehrte Zeitungen."

² "Der merkwürdige Haar-Locken-Raub des Herrn Pope, aus dem Englischen ins Deutsche übersetzt" (Dresden), 1739.

³ "La Boucle de Cheveux enlevée, poëme héroïcomique de M. Pope. Traduit de l'Anglois, par M.L.D.F. À Paris, 1728."

⁴ "La traduction," he says, "est très littérale. On n'a rien ajouté, ni rien retouché et si elle renferme quelque différences, elle sont légères et dans les règles" (p. 11).

⁵ "Des Ritters Alexander Pope Versuch an dem Menschen, in vier Sitten-Briefen an Henrich St. Jean, Grafen von Bolingbroke über die Natur und den Zustand des Menschen. Zuerst aus dem Englischen in das Frantzösische, durch den Hn. Abt. Du Resnel, und nunmehr in das Teutsche übersetzt. Nebst einigen andern Uebersetzungen. Frankfurt am Mayn, bey Frantz Varrentrapp, 1741."

no claim to scholarship. He says that he may not always have written in the pure Saxon dialect and his datives and ablatives may not always be correct, but that his chief aim was to reproduce the beauty of the thought rather than that of the language. He claims no knowledge of English, giving as his only source Du Resnel's French translation.¹

This work of Du Resnel, to which was added a translation of the "Essay on Criticism," owing to the smoothness of its verse, was undoubtedly the most widely read translation on the continent during the two decades following its appearance. It was only after a wider acquaintance with the original and after the weakness of Crousaz' attack upon Pope had become generally known, a weakness which was due to some extent to this French translation which Crousaz had used, that the public became aware of the extreme liberties which Du Resnel had taken with Pope's text. To adapt Pope's two Essays to his French readers Du Resnel felt himself compelled to make many changes. Passages too harsh for the aesthetic French ear were entirely omitted, others were rearranged or expanded, and he occasionally found himself obliged to supply the necessary transitions which he felt were lacking in the original, so that the number of alexandrine lines in his version is more than half as large again as the number of pentameter lines in Pope.

The German translator follows his French model very closely. He not only reproduces the lengthy preface of Du Resnel, but also prints the French text of the "Essay" opposite his own. Like his model, he uses the rhymed alexandrine and limits himself exactly to the number of lines in the French. As a translation of Pope the work was, of course, of little value. The unscientific method of this unknown translator did not, even in that less critical age, pass without its due censure.²

The gross faults of the French translations, particularly of "The Rape of the Lock" of 1728, upon which, as we have seen, the first German translation of that work was based, became the subject of

¹ "Les Principes de la Morale et du Goût, en Deux Poèmes, traduits de l'anglois de M. Pope, par M. Du Resnel, Abbé de Sept-Fountaines, de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. À Paris, 1737."

² Cf., e.g., "Göttinger gel. Anzeigen," 1741, p. 597 f.; and "Freymüthige Nachrichten," Zürich, I (1744), 373.

extensive comment by Frau Gottsched in the introduction to her translation of "The Rape of the Lock," published in 1744,¹ and in the footnotes of her text she gives numerous illustrations of the liberties which the anonymous Frenchman had taken with Pope's work. Six or seven years before, she tells us, she had been induced to begin a translation of Pope's mock-heroic from the above-mentioned French translation and that she had finished four cantos before she finally secured an English edition. "Aber wie erstaunte ich," she exclaims, "und wie sehr reute mich meine Zeit und Mühe, als ich sah, wie weit wir von dieses grossen Dichters Feuer, Scharfsinigkeit, kurzen nachdrücklichen Satiren, und edlen poetischen Beschreibungen entfernt waren." In her chagrin she denounces all French translations as unreliable and advises all who wish to save themselves time and trouble to avoid them. In view of the decided leaning of Gottsched toward French literature, it is somewhat surprising to note the fervor with which she defends her own country against what she regards as the conceited and overrated French, and this at a time when the relative merits of French and English literature were being bitterly contested by Gottsched and his opponents.²

It was some time after the disheartening experience with this French translation that Frau Gottsched took up the work again and translated the final canto from the English. This, she tells us, proved so much easier and so much more successful that she decided to translate the entire work from the English.

When we take into consideration how early the translation was made and the difficulties of the task, we must regard it as a very creditable effort. She was unfortunate in choosing the somewhat heavy alexandrines for the light content of Pope's mock-heroic; but this fault must be ascribed to the fashion of the day rather than

¹ "Herrn Alexander Popens Lockenraub, ein scherzhaftes Heldengedicht. Aus dem Englischen in deutsche Verse übersetzt, von Luise Adelgunde Victorie Gottschedinn. Nebst einem Anhang zweier freyen Uebersetzungen aus dem Französischen. Leipzig, in Bernhard Christoph Breitkopfs Verlag. 1744."

² "Man wundert sich nämlich gar sehr," she says, "dass die Deutschen einmal anfangen, die so lange vergrösserte und von uns blindlings geglaubte Grösse der französischen Verdienste zu untersuchen, und es frey herauszusagen: man fände dass sie auch schwache Menschen sind, und es habe unserm Vaterlande an grossen Männern niemals gefehlet, fehle ihm auch voritzo nicht an solchen, die es mit allen gallischen Sternen erster Grösze gar wohl aufnehmen, und selbige gar verdunkeln können. Das ist nun freylich ein verwägner Eingriff in den bisherigen ruhigen Besitz des französischen Vorzuges vor den Deutschen!"

to any lack in herself of a sense of poetic fitness. Her lines are rhythmic and generally poetic. She attempts to imitate, often successfully, Pope's compressed style without committing the glaring improprieties in language of which so many other translators of Pope were guilty. However, in spite of her effort to follow her text closely, she is sometimes guilty of inaccuracies.¹

The same year in which this work came from the press, a long and scathing criticism of it appeared in the "Züricher Freymüthigen Nachrichten,"² a journal with which Bodmer was closely connected. The reviewer refused to recognize even the slightest merit in the work and used it, apparently, merely as a pretext for an attack upon the hostile party, an excellent illustration of the general character of the criticism during this period of literary readjustment in Germany, where sane and unbiased judgment often gave way to personal vilification.³

In 1772, after the death of Frau Gottsched, a revised edition of the work was published by an unknown editor.⁴ It had been the desire of the translator before her death to correct the numerous mistakes which she acknowledged had crept into her translation, but this she was unable to carry out. It was felt that the work possessed sufficient merit to warrant the contemplated revised edition. The editor accordingly subjected it to a thorough revision in which he sought to avoid most of the features which had been found objectionable.

The French influence shows itself not only in these translations from the French, but also in several German publications of French versions. Here belongs the translation of the "Essay on Man" by Baron de Schleinitz, published in Helmstedt in 1749.⁵ Ostensibly the author's purpose was to produce a verse translation of Pope's

¹ As, e.g., when she translates: "For life predestined to the gnomes embrace" (Canto I, 80) by "Sind schon lebend bösen Gnomen zur Umarmung ausgesetzt" (p. 5); "mystic order" (I, 122) by "verborgne Ordnung" (p. 7); "well-dressed youths" (II, 5) by "goldne Stutzer" (p. 9); and "the finny prey" (II, 26) by "leichtes Fussvolk" (p. 10).

² I, 278 f. and 283 ff.

³ Cf. the much more favorable review in "Zuverlässige Nachrichten," Leipzig, VI (1745), 219-28.

⁴ "Herrn Alexander Popens Lockenraub, ein scherzhaftes Heldengedicht. Aus dem Englischen in deutsche Verse übersetzt, von Luise Adelgunde Victorie Gottschedinn. In dieser Zweyten Auflage durchaus verbessert, und beinahe ganz umgearbeitet. Leipzig, 1772, bey Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf und Sohne."

⁵ "Essai sur l'Homme de Monsieur Pope. À Helmstedt, chez Jean Drimborn, 1749."

Essay that would avoid the serious faults of Du Resnel's work; really, however, it seems to have been to furnish himself with a pretext for an elaborate dedication to the reigning family of Brunswick. After the usual encomiums upon Pope and an acknowledgment of his indebtedness to Brockes, whose translation he regards as the best that had up to that time been produced in any language, he reviews at great length the faults of the popular French version of Du Resnel. Turning now to his translation, we find that he escaped but few of Du Resnel's shortcomings and produced none of his excellencies. We look in vain for Pope's "traits hardis," his "pensées extraordinaires" and "ces expressions singulières qui frappent" which he missed in Du Resnel's rendering. He freely adds ideas of his own and expands Pope's thoughts so that the number of his alexandrine lines is nearly three times the number in the English.¹

One of the earliest translations of "Eloise to Abelard" published in Germany appeared likewise in the French language. It formed part of a collection of translations in French of a number of English authors, published according to the title-page in Berlin in 1751.²

¹ There was also a Latin translation made in Germany a few years before with the following title: "Alexandri Pope, Equitis Anglicani & Poetae incomparabilis Commentatis de Homine Poetica, ex Anglico Idiomate, in Latinum translata & Carmine Heroico expressa, Notisque subiunctis illustrata, per Joh. Joachimum Gottlob Am-Ende, Bonarum Artium Magistrum ac Diaconum Graeffenhaynensem." Vitemberg, 1743. That the work appeared the year before is shown by two reviews: "Zuverlässige Nachr.," Leipzig, III (1742), 815-22, and "Staats- u. gel. Ztgn.," Hamburg, 1742, No. 177, November 7. Pope, who was ever on the alert to increase his popularity abroad, had previously to this employed Dobson, who had gained considerable reputation through his translation of Prior's "Solomon," to prepare a Latin verse translation of the Essay. After completing half the work, however, he gave up his task. Pope's further attempt to procure someone who could turn it into Latin prose seemed equally unsuccessful. When, therefore, a copy of this Wittenberg translation was sent to him by the author, Am-Ende, at Hagedorn's suggestion (cf. Friedrich von Hagedorn's "Poetische Werke," hrsg. von Eschenburg, Hamburg, 1800. Fünfter Theil, p. 60, note), he examined it, no doubt, with considerable interest. Pope had considered all foreign translations with which he was acquainted unsatisfactory in that either the sense or the poetry was lost in them. This Latin translation was no exception in this regard, for while he pronounced it a very faithful rendering, he thought it inelegant. (Cf. "The Works of Alexander Pope," edited by Elwin, London, 1871, II, 267, note.)

² *Mélange de différentes Pièces de Vers et de Prose traduites de l'Anglois, d'après Mmes Elize Haywood et Suzanne Centlivre. Mrs. Pope, Southern et autres. A Berlin, 1751.* 3 vols. "Héloïse à Abailard," Vol. 2, pp. 1-41. (Cf. "Lessings Schriften," Lachmann-Muncker Ausg., IV, 261.)

A collection of Pope's Works in French with Amsterdam and Leipzig upon the title-page seems to have had extensive circulation in Germany. It was published first in two volumes under the title: "Oeuvres diverses de M. Pope. À Amsterdam et à Leipzig, chez Arkstée et Merkus 1749." Vol. I contains Du Resnel's verse translation of the "Essay on Man," and the "Essay on Criticism," and "La Boucle de Cheveux enlevée. Poëme Héroïcomique, trad. en vers François par M. . . ." Vol. II contains the same

There is but one other translation to be mentioned which was directly based upon a French text, namely a version in alexandrines of "Eloise to Abelard" published in 1760.¹ The anonymous author places parallel to his text a French rendering which had come from the press the year before.² This French text seems to have been his only guide, for he follows closely its extremely free paraphrase of Pope's work.

After the middle of the century the German language began again to assume a position of respectability as a literary language, so that the demand for French translations of foreign works was no longer felt. A more general knowledge of the English language, as a result of a rapidly growing interest in English literature, made it likewise unnecessary to use the unscientific expedient of translating English works from the French.

2. *Hamburg and the Early Pope Translations*

Of all the cities in Germany, Hamburg was the first to show a prominent interest in English literature. The commercial importance of the city brought her merchants frequently to the English capital, and for the same reason English business men were accustomed to visit the German port. Amid these intimate commercial relations, it could hardly have remained uninformed of the important literary events across the channel, especially since it had comparatively easy access to English publications. Hamburg thus early became the chief distributing point of English literary works in Germany.³ It was here that the English moral weeklies of Addison

works in prose together with the "Moral Epistles." The "Berlinischen wöchentlichen Berichte der merkwürdigsten Begebenheiten des Reichs der Wissenschaften und Künsten" for the year 1749, p. 213, commends the publishers and suggests that the other works of Pope be added to this edition. "Ein so sinnreicher Schriftsteller, als Hr. Pope," the review continues, "verdient von jedermann gelesen zu werden; und es ist besser, dass wir von ihm eine vollständige getreue Uebersetzung haben, als dass aus selbigen einige Brocken abgeborget, und in deutsch gebrochenen Gedichten vorgeleget und vor deutschen Wiz und was neues verkauft werden." This suggestion was carried out; an enlarged edition of the work was published 1754 in 6 vols., another in 1758 in 7 vols. and an 8-vol. edition containing the complete works of Pope in 1767.

¹ "Brief der Heloise an den Abelard. Eine freie Uebersetzung aus dem Herrn Pope. Gotha bey Christian Mevius, 1760."

² "Lettre D'Héloise à Abélard. Traduction libre de M. Pope. Par M.C. . . . Au Paraclet, 1759."

³ Bodmer, e.g., was indebted to Hagedorn (in Hamburg) for a number of English works. Cf. "Litterarische Pamphlete aus der Schweiz. Nebst Briefen an Bodmern." Zürich, 1781, p. 101.

and Steele were eagerly read almost immediately upon their publication and where their first German imitations appeared. It was in Hamburg, too, where "Robinson Crusoe" made its first appearance in German dress, which started the flood of "Robinsonaden" in Germany that has not yet subsided. Here also Thomson's "Seasons" was first translated and exerted its earliest influence upon German poetry.

It was upon this already much traveled literary route that Pope first entered Germany directly from England through Brockes' translation of the "Essay on Man." Brockes was among the first important literary men of Germany to show a decided interest in English literature. He was one of the leaders in the "Patriotischen Gesellschaft," an interested reader of the English "Spectator" and a contributor to the "Patriot" (1724-27), one of the most important German imitations of the English moral weeklies. His translation appeared in 1740, but he had long before been a close student of Pope whose influence is clearly reflected in the early issues of his "Irdischen Vergnügen in Gott."

Brockes was considered, on account of his fame as a poet and his reputation as a translator,¹ the one best fitted for translating Pope. As early as 1737, in a somewhat extensive review in the "Frankfurter gelehrten Zeitungen"² of several French translations from Pope, the reviewer, after calling attention to the excellent work of the English poet and deploring in contrast to this the degenerate condition of German literature,³ gives a resumé of the "Essay on Man" and continues: "Schöne Lehren einer unbetrüglichen Weltweisheit! würdige Früchten eines wohlgeübten Verstandes. Es wäre zu wünschen, dass eine Feder, die so richtig in der Uebersetzung und so zierlich in ihren Ausdrücken, als des Herrn Brocks seine wäre, dieses schöne Gedicht in Teutscher Sprach heraus geben möchte."

Encouragement of this kind finally persuaded Brockes to undertake the translation, which he completed probably early in 1739. In the "Hamburgischen Berichten von gelehrten Sachen" of this year,⁴ B. J. Zinck, a young scholar and at that time tutor in Brockes'

¹ Especially his translation of Marino's "Strage degli Innocenti," 1715.

² II, 433 ff.

³ "Bey uns herrscht ein dürftiger Zwang. Wir denken aus Noth. Wir schreiben aus Armuth und machen grosse Bücher, die niemand lieset" (p. 435).

⁴ No. 74, pp. 633-39.

family at Ritzbüttel, published a preliminary announcement of this work of Brockes, stating that the latter had undertaken it both for his own edification and for the benefit of his countrymen, and that it had been completed some time since. This announcement is accompanied by a summary of the excellences of Pope's "Essay" and of its contents.

The work which came from the press early the following year (1740)¹ contains besides the English and German texts of Pope's "Essay" other translations, including several extracts from Thomson and Milton. To these translations of Brockes was added Zinck's translation of Warburton's "Defense" of Pope's "Essay" against the charges of Crousaz, the appearance of which with this first German translation of the "Essay" was especially timely, since Crousaz' attack upon Pope's philosophical system in the "Essay on Man" had been given wide circulation upon the continent.²

Of considerable importance also was the general introduction by Zinck, in which he gave a brief biography of Pope and a somewhat extensive criticism of his works. He regarded Pope as a keen philosopher and one of the most graceful and correct of poets, who had excelled all of his predecessors in the skill with which he had united metaphysics and poetry.

The numerous reviews which followed reiterated in a general way this criticism of Zinck and the majority of them speak favorably of Brockes' translation,³ while a few, like the "Göttinger gelehrten Anzeigen,"⁴ carefully avoid a discussion of its merits in their notices of the work. But even at this early date, the time of Brockes'

¹ The complete title is: "Hrn. B. H. Brockes, Lti. Com. Pal. Caes. Rathsherrn der Stadt Hamburg, und p. t. Amtmanns zu Ritzbüttel, aus dem Englischen übersetzter Versuch vom Menschen, des Herrn Alexander Pope, Esq., nebst verschiedenen andern Uebersetzungen und einigen Gedichten. Nebst einer Vorrede und einem Anhang von Briefen, worinnen die Einwürfe des Hrn. C. . . . wider den Essay on Man beantwortet werden, aus der History of the Works of the Learned übersetzt von B. J. Zinck. Hamburg, verlegt Christian Harold, 1740."

² This Defense consisted of five letters and was published serially without the author's name in "The History of the Works of the Learned" beginning December, 1738. These were later expanded into six letters and appeared in book form in 1740. The first work of Crousaz against Pope was published in 1737, under the title: "Examen de l'Essay de Monsieur Pope Sur L'Homme. Par Monsieur de Crousaz, Membre des Académies Royales, etc. À Lausanne, chez Marc-Mich. Bousquet & Comp. Et se vent à Amsterdam, chez Pierre Mortier, 1737."

³ See especially, "Staats- und Gelehrte Zeitungen des Hamb. Correspondenten," 1741, No. 112; and "Franckfurtische gelehrte Zeitungen," VI (1741), 385 ff.

⁴ 1740, p. 458.

greatest popularity as a poet, critics were not lacking who were fearless enough to call the attention of the public to some of the weaknesses of this translation.¹

Brockes was unfortunate in choosing the extremely long meter of eight feet, which often led him to make meaningless additions of his own to complete the lines. He frequently lacks clearness and successfully conceals every one of the much admired characteristics of Pope's style. The very fact that this extremely prosy translation was the work of one who, by a large following, was considered the greatest German poet of his day shows us the extreme crudity of the German poetic language of this time.²

Along with Brockes and Zinck, Hagedorn was equally active in Hamburg in furthering this growing interest in English literature. Through his connection with Brockes, Fabricius, Richey, and other promoters of the "Hamburger Patriot," his attention had been early directed toward the English moral philosophers and moral weeklies. His two years' residence in England (1729-31) naturally developed his knowledge and appreciation of English literature and of Pope in particular, who was at this time the most prominent literary figure in England. That the impression which Pope made upon the young poet was deep and lasting is shown by the distinct influence which the former exerted upon Hagedorn's later works.

In the dispute in regard to Pope's orthodoxy precipitated by Crousaz' charges, Pope found his friends in Germany, especially those in Hamburg, among his staunchest defenders. Pope had published in 1738 his "Universal Prayer," in which he attempted to show his doctrine to be based upon free will, not upon fatalism as his critics had concluded from the "Essay on Man." This poem was thus eagerly seized upon by his German supporters in his defense.

¹ "Zuverlässige Nachrichten von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande, Veränderung und Wachsthum der Wissenschaften," Leipzig, II (1741), 197 ff.

² Scarcely had Brockes' translation come from the press when in one of the reviews of this work ("Staats- u. gel. Ztgn.," 1742, No. 112) another similar effort was brought to the notice of the public. With the review was printed a translation of a few pages from the beginning of Epistle I. This "Probe" is a distinct advance over Brockes. The unknown translator uses the rhymed alexandrine resembling Pope's couplets more closely than do Brockes' lines and seeks to limit, after Pope's manner, the thought to the couplet. But in his struggle for rhyme and meter he frequently deviates from the sense of the original. He received, apparently, little encouragement since his complete translation seems never to have been published.

The "Universal Prayer" was accordingly translated by Hagedorn and printed separately in 1742. Of the numerous versions of the poem which appeared in Germany during this century this was the most popular. It found wide circulation both through the numerous editions of Hagedorn's works and through reprints appearing in a number of journals in different parts of Germany.¹ This popularity was well deserved, for in spite of his disregard for the metrical simplicity and occasionally the thought of the original, he succeeded admirably in reproducing the spirit of Pope's poem. The essential changes which Hagedorn made in Pope's text were intended to protect the latter from the charges which had been made against him. The last line of the first stanza of the poem: "Jehovah, Jove, or Lord" was thus rendered by "Gott, dem alle Götter weichen" in order to remove from the line the suspicion of blasphemy which the original might convey. The editor of the "Hamburger Staats- und Gelehrten Zeitungen," in the introduction to his reprint, excuses Hagedorn's change of such "bedenkliche Stellen" as this and thinks that the author himself would never regret these changes. Indeed, he says, Pope, if he read the German version, ought to feel delighted to find a poem of his translated according to the principles of translation which he himself followed.

Altona, but a short distance from Hamburg, shared with the latter this general interest in English literature. It was here that in 1744 was made the first translation of the "Messiah" by Elias Caspar Reichards.² The Iversche Buchhandlung of Altona was particularly active during these early decades of English influence in

¹ A separate print of it in quarto in the city library of Zürich bears the following title: "Allgemeines Gebeth, in einer freyen Uebersetzung aus dem Pope. Hamburg, gedruckt mit Johann Georg Piscators Schriften." With other poems of Hagedorn it appeared first in his "Moralischen Gedichten," Hamburg, 1750, pp. 1 ff., where the date of the translation is given as 1742. In the latter year it was reprinted in a moral weekly of Hamburg, "Der Bewunderer" (Stück 46), evidently without Hagedorn's permission (cf. Stück 53 of the same journal). The following year it was copied in the "Hamburger Staats- u. gel. Ztgn." (St. 60), and in the "Franckfurtischen gel. Zeitungen" (VIII, 189 ff.) In 1754 it appeared again in the "Neuesten Sammlungen vermischter Schriften," Zürich, I, 65-76. To justify his reprint of the poem the editor of the latter work says: "Es verdient . . . dass es weit bekannt sey. Man wird uns also nicht ohne Dank aufnehmen, dasz wir es hier in dieser Sammlung aufbehalten und weiter herum streuen."

² "Elias Caspar Reichards, öffentlichen Lehrers der Beredsamkeit und Dichtkunst an dem Königl. academischen Gymnasio zu Altona, Proben deutscher Gedichte. Nebst einigen Uebersetzungen. Altona" (Preface dated 1744). "Messias. Eine geistliche Ekloge. Nach Anleitung verschiedener Stellen des Propheten Jesaiä in Nachahmung des Pollio, eines Virgilianischen Schäfergedichtes, aufgesetzt," pp. 190-99.

Germany in the spreading of this interest in English literature. The journals which came from time to time from its press, as, for example, the "Nordischen Beyträge" and the "Magazin für den Verstand, den Geschmack und das Herz" worked hand in hand with the various Hamburg journals in the extension of the knowledge of English literary works throughout Germany. Some of the journals were still essentially moralizing in tone, after the manner of the moral weekly, and they drew much of their material from English didactic writers. This explains, no doubt, the appearance in the latter magazine of translations of several of Pope's Epistles and the "Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady."¹ The translations are mere literal prose renderings and give the reader no idea of the real Pope.

From the Iversche Buchhandlung came also (1758-64) the first and only German translation of Pope's complete works in the eighteenth century. By 1758 all of the important works of Pope had been translated, but these translations were, for the most part, either inferior or absolutely unreliable. In view of the wide circle of readers which Pope had in Germany, it was thought a highly desirable as well as profitable undertaking to furnish these German readers of Pope a complete and uniform translation. This work was undertaken by Johann Jacob Dusch, Professor of the English and German languages at the Gymnasium of Altona and known among his contemporaries as the author of numerous didactic poems in imitation of Pope, Thomson, and Young. The translation was made in prose and was based upon Warburton's edition of 1752.

The first volume came from the press in 1758 without the name of the translator.² A review of this volume appeared in the "Züricher

¹ "Magazin für den Verstand, den Geschmack und das Herz. In der Commission der Iverschen Buchhandlung." Altona, 1758. Erstes Quartal, "Vom Gebrauch der Reichthümer an Lord Bathurst," p. 65-80; "Von der Eitelkeit im Aufwande an Richard Grafen von Burlington," pp. 129-39; "Elegie zum Andenken eines unglücklichen Frauenzimmers," pp. 172-75. Zweytes Quartal, "Von der Erkenntniß und den Charakteren der Menschen," pp. 193-204.

Shortly before this, a prose translation had been published of Epistles I, II, and IV, and of a letter of Berkeley to Pope dated Oct. 22, 1717, in Göttingen in a collection of moralistic works drawn from the English Moral weeklies, Mrs. Rowe, Pope, and a number of German sources. The collection bears the title: "Meisterstücke moralischer Abhandlungen Englischer und Deutscher Sittenlehrer. Zweyte Auflage. Göttingen, bey Victorinns Bossiegel," 1754-57. 5 Sammlungen in 1 vol. I have been unable to find any trace of the first edition of this work.

² "Herrn Alexander Pope Esq. sämtliche Werke. Mit Wilh. Warburtons Commentar und Anmerkungen aus dessen neuester und bester Ausgabe übersetzt. Altona, bey David Iversen." Erster Band, 1758; zweyter Bd. 1759; dritter Bd., 1761; vierter Bd., 1763; fünfter Bd. 1764.

Freymüthigen Nachrichten" which speaks of it in most favorable terms, regarding it as the beginning of a translation which expressed faithfully the genius and the distinguishing beauties of Pope's immortal works, so that the insects which had so industriously "metamorphosirt" Pope in the past could now tranquilly be forgotten.¹

But this was by no means the prevailing opinion of Dusch's work. In the first issue of the "Berliner Literaturbriefe"² Lessing called attention to its essential weakness, resulting in the bitterest controversy between Dusch and his Hamburg and Altona friends on the one hand and the Berlin critics, Lessing, Mendelssohn, and Nicolai on the other. Lessing, himself a close reader of English literature, saw clearly the pernicious influence which the numerous inferior translations that were being scattered broadcast over Germany exerted upon the very movement which they were intended to foster. In his opinion Dusch belonged to this class of translators. "Was haben sie nicht schon alles übersetzt," he says in the above review, "und was werden sie nicht noch übersetzen! Eben itzt habe ich einen vor mir, der sich an einen englischen Dichter—rathen Sie einmal an welchen!—gemacht hat. O Sie können es doch nicht errathen!—An Pope."

Lessing had for several years been a student of Pope and in his criticism of Dusch's translation he shows us how clearly he comprehended the fundamental character of Pope's poetry. His criticism of Pope, although commonplace today, was far from being so to the Germans of his day. The greatest contribution of Pope lies, in his opinion, in what might be called the mechanics of poetry; his essential aim being to put the most cogent thought into the fewest and most musical words, and rhyme being with him by no means a negligible matter. Pope cannot therefore, he thinks, be reproduced in prose, as Dusch has done, without gross misrepresentation.³

¹ "Freymüthige Nachrichten von neuen Büchern, und anderen zur Gelehrtheit gehörigen Sachen," Zürich, 1759, p. 181.

² Zweyter Brief, Jan. 4, 1759. Cf. Lessings Schriften, *op. cit.*, VIII, 5-7.

³ "Einen Dichter, dessen grosses, ich will nicht sagen grösstes, Verdienst in dem war, was wir das Mechanische der Poesie nennen; dessen ganze Mühe dahin ging, den reichsten, triftigsten Sinn in die wenigsten, wohlklingendsten Worte zu legen; dem der Reim keine Kleinigkeit war—einen solchen Dichter in Prosa zu übersetzen, heisst ihn ärger entstellen, als man den Euklides entstellen würde, wenn man ihn in Verse übersetzte."

In the introduction to the first volume of the translation, Dusch flattered himself upon his perfect understanding of his author and upon his own poetic gift to aid him in reproducing, at least in some measure, the clarity and poetic fire of the original. Lessing, however, convincingly shows the translation to lack the very qualities which Dusch claimed for it. Indeed, he points out how in various places he had absolutely misunderstood his author.

In 1758 Moses Mendelssohn, the friend of Lessing, had begun in the "Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften,"¹ an extensive review of Warton's "Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope,"² which was continued the following year.³ This continuation was prefaced by a scathing review of the first volume of Dusch's translation, in which he repeated in all essentials the previous criticism of Lessing. Like him, he attempted to show the inadequacy of turning Pope into prose and produced an additional list of faulty translations. At the same time he gave, in his review of Warton's "Essay," an application of his theory of translation by turning into German verse numerous citations which Warton had made from Pope.⁴

These reviews of Lessing and Mendelssohn were instantly followed by numerous replies either by Dusch himself or were inspired by him against what he regarded as an unjust criticism by the anonymous Berlin critics.⁵ He insisted upon the fact that Pope could not be translated satisfactorily into German verse, citing as evidence the numerous unreadable verse translations that already existed of the various works of Pope, and in contrast to these the general excellence of Drollinger's prose version of the "Essay on Criticism." The verse translations of Pope which Mendelssohn made in his review he condemns both for their inaccuracy and for their ineffectiveness. Beauty of thought and musical harmony in a foreign

¹ IV (1758), 500-32.

² Vol. I, London, 1756.

³ Pp. 627-69. Cf. "Mendelssohn's gesammelte Schriften," Leipzig, 1844, IV, 388-439.

⁴ It is in this connection that Mendelssohn made his translation of "The Dying Christian to his Soul," which on account of its general excellence was later reprinted (see below, p. 42).

⁵ "Hamburger Staats- und Gelehrte Zeitungen," Vol. 1759, March 24 and June 29; "Magazin für den Verstand, den Geschmack und das Herz," 1759, pp. 378-85. The translation, Vol. II, "An den Leser," pp. 3-10. "Briefe an Freunde und Freundinnen über verschiedene kritische, freundschaftliche, und andere vermischte Materien." [By Dusch], Altona, bey David Iversen, 1759, pp. 209 ff. "Das Dorf. Ein Gedicht von Joh. Jac. Dusch, der sch. Wissensch. Prof., Altona, bey Iversen, 1760." "An den Leser," pp. 5-14.

author he insists cannot both be reproduced with equal fidelity in a translation, hence if one must be neglected at the expense of the other it should be the latter. He is unwilling to concede the incorrectness of certain passages with which his first critic, Lessing, had found fault and makes a foolish attempt to defend his translation of these passages.¹

To the personal invective which characterized most of these replies the Berlin critics paid but little attention. They regarded this as merely a challenge to produce further proof of the carelessness with which he had translated Pope and of his ignorance of the English language. Thus, immediately after the appearance of the second volume of the translation in 1759 appeared a review of it in the "Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften"² which called attention to the numerous errors in the work.³

If these criticisms were naturally ineffective in changing the essential character of the rest of this work, they were at least responsible for the greater care used in the preparation of the later volumes. For Pope these discussions resulted in a direct gain, for they not only called wide attention to him in Germany but they also warned his German readers against this and similar translations which failed to reproduce his distinguishing characteristics.

3. *Translations Growing Out of the Bodmer-Gottsched Controversy*

We have seen the important part which northern Germany played in the dissemination of English literary influence in Germany beginning about the third decade of the eighteenth century. A similar movement was going on at the same time in distant Switzerland which was even more important because more aggressive than this,

¹ E.g., in the following taken from "The Author's Preface": "it is very unreasonable that people should expect us to be scholars, and yet be angry to find us so," he renders "scholars" by "Schüler"; and in the "Discourse on Pastoral Poetry" he translates "Virgil who copies Theocritus" by "Virgil der den Theokrit ausschreibt."

² V, 93-104. Cf. also the further brief discussions of the work by Lessing in "Briefe die neueste Litteratur betreffend," Lessings Schriften, *op. cit.*, VIII, 63 f., and pp. 94 f. Also "Fabeln," Berlin, 1759, Einleitung.

³ Errors like the following occur: "Nor hallowed dirge be muttered o'er thy tomb" (Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady, l. 62) he translates "und kein geheiligter Koth auf dein Grab gestreut ist" (I, 222); "The Wife of Bath" becomes "Die Badefrau" (I, 99); "A Steed that carries double when there's need" (The Happy Life of a Country Parson, l. 324) occurs as "ein Pferd das Doppelbier holet, wenn es nöthig ist" (II, 180); "And best distinguished by black, brown or fair" (Moral Essays, Epistle II, l. 4) is translated by "und schwarz, braun oder schön" (III, 247).

and which, through open conflict with existing ideals and conditions, hastened the process of literary regeneration that was necessary and inevitable. In this contest the Swiss school with Bodmer and Breitinger at its head and others like Drollinger and Haller as well as many in Germany in active sympathy with them, sought their chief defense in English literary precedent. It was Milton around whom the conflict was at first concentrated, but other English writers like Shakespeare, Thomson, and Pope were soon forced to become the innocent participants in the struggle. Although essential differences exist between Milton and Shakespeare on the one hand and Pope on the other, the work of the latter was eagerly quoted by the Swiss in support of their literary theories, for Pope was considered, both in England and France and even by the school of Gottsched, an acknowledged literary authority.

It was for this reason that a translation of Pope's "Essay on Criticism" found a place beside Bodmer's translation of the first book of "Paradise Lost" in the "Sammlung kritischer Schriften," published 1741-44 in Zürich and aimed primarily at the doctrines of the Leipzig school.¹ These translations with a few original German productions of high standard were to show the practical application of the theory contained in the critical and polemical articles. They felt it to be a useless waste of time to spend years in developing a literary taste which had already been found and could be acquired in a short time by a close study of the many excellent foreign literary models.²

Karl Friedrich Drollinger (1688-1742), the first translator of the "Essay on Criticism," although a German by birth, through his long residence in Basel came to identify himself closely with the school of

¹ "Sammlung kritischer, poetischer, und anderer geistvollen Schriften, zur Verbesserung des Urtheils und des Wizes in den Wercken der Wolredenheit und der Poesie." Zürich, bey Conrad Orell und Comp., 1741-44. The translation of the "Essay on Criticism" appears in Stück I, pp. 49-84 under the title: "Alexander Popen Versuch von den Eigenschaften eines Kunstrichters durch Hrn. Hofrath Drollinger übersetzt."

² "Warum solten wir," says the anonymous critic in the introduction (p. 9), "so viel Jahre zubringen den Geschmack zu suchen, der doch schon gefunden ist? Die Betrachtungen der Schriften der vortreflichen ausländischen Scribenten sowohl der alten als der neuen, wohlüberlegte Anmerkungen darüber, wovon sie selbst schon gründliche Lehrbücher geschrieben haben, lehren uns viele Sachen, auf welche das eigne Erfinden den fertigsten Geist sehr langsam und spät geführt hätte; man kan sich in einem Tage derer Kunst- und Handgriffe bemächtigen, welche den Erfindern viele Jahre Arbeit und Nachsuchen gekostet haben."

Bodmer. He was indeed one of the earliest in Switzerland to interest himself in English literature and to show the benefit of this influence both in the style and content of his own writings. In common with the rest of the Swiss school, he became a sworn enemy to rhyme and translated the "Essay" in prose. Only two brief passages appear in alexandrines,¹ the first of which, where Pope criticizes the "expected rimes," could hardly have been reproduced without this device. The translation is accurate, but the form in which it was cast, its crude language characteristic of that period, and the fact that it first appeared in a work intensely partisan, prevented its becoming as popular as it undoubtedly would have become under more favorable conditions. Nevertheless, the "Essay on Criticism," as the result of this translation, formed the subject of several extensive reviews. Thus one of the Hamburg journals² speaks of it as a work that above all others deserved to be translated into German, and says that the German public should consider itself especially fortunate that Pope's "Essay" had fallen into the hands of one so skilful as to make of it, to a certain degree, a German original. "He who would know," the reviewer continues, "the true character of an honest and sound critic, let him read this work." He then gives the content of it at considerable length. A similar criticism appeared in the "Franckfurtischen gelehrten Zeitungen."³

Drollinger's translation was reprinted in 1753 when Wieland, who was at that time living in Switzerland and closely associated with Bodmer, published a new edition of the "Streitschriften." With slight changes in the text, chiefly in spelling and punctuation, it appeared also in the various editions of Drollinger's poems first published the year after his death by his friend J. J. Spreng, who added to it extensive notes and citations from German and foreign authors.⁴

Unlike Milton and Shakespeare, Pope was studied and admired by both of the two great literary factions. I have referred to the eagerness with which Bodmer and his followers quoted Pope in

¹ Ll. 350-53 and 366-69.

² "Staats- u. gel. Ztgn.," 1741, Nos. 116, 131, 171, and 203.

³ 1741, pp. 431 ff.

⁴ For the complete titles of the several editions of Drollinger's "Gedichte" see Carl Graner, *Die Uebersetzungen von Pope's "Essay on Criticism," op. cit.*, p. 80.

support of their theories. But essentially Pope's poetic doctrines were more nearly in accord with those of Gottsched, since both developed under a strong French influence. Since, therefore, the first translation of the "Essay on Criticism" was published, as we have seen, under conditions which made it impossible for the Leipzig school to accept it, there was need for a second translation which should have the unqualified approval of Gottsched. Such a translation was prepared by G. E. Müller and published with some work of his own in 1745.¹

In the introduction, containing a brief biography of Pope, Müller refers to the latter as "der Horaz der Britten," regarding him as equal to the Latin author in the keenness of his criticism and superior to him as a poet. The biography, he states, had been finished as early as 1737, disclaiming, therefore, all indebtedness to a similar account published with Brockes's translation of the "Essay on Man," while the translation itself, he says, had been begun still earlier, in 1736. He prides himself, therefore, on being the first German translator of the "Essay on Criticism." As to his translation, he promises a line-for-line rendering of the English in which the reader will find both thought and expression faithfully reproduced. Even the external appearance of the work, he thinks, is worthy of the English author and shows the respect due to the immortal memory of the greatest European poet of his time. An examination of his text reveals, however, none of the promised excellencies. His attempt to translate Pope line for line in alexandrines led him into the grossest inaccuracies and obscurities, leaving no trace of Pope's clarity of expression and poetic harmony. Bobertag in his article "Zu Popes Essay on Criticism"² justly remarks that Pope should be thought fortunate never to have read this translation.³

¹ "Versuch über die Critik aus dem Englischen des Herrn Pope. Nebst einem Versuche einer Critik über die deutschen Dichter, auch einer Zugabe einiger, kleineren Schriften, von M. Gottfried Ephraim Müller. Dresden, 1745, bey Georg Conrad. Walther, Königl. Hof-Buchhändler." W. Heinsius, *Allg. Bücher-Lexikon*, cites another edition bearing the same date with Bremen upon the title-page.

² "Englische Studien," III (1880), 79.

³ "Grade seine trefflichste eigenschaft, die klarheit," he continues, "ist in dem deutschen gewande so in ihr gegentheil verkehrt, dass kein mensch namentlich den letzten passus verstehen kann. Man bringt hier gar kein licht heraus, nicht einmal ein dunkles, kurz Müller . . . hat sein vorbild in vielen stellen gar nicht verstanden."

Gottsched favored the work with an extensive criticism,¹ and while he was not particularly lavish in his praise of it, yet he said nothing at which the translator could have taken offense. He complimented him for the conscientiousness with which he had done his work and for using neither the poetic form of the lazy (Bodmer's and Drollinger's prose) nor the too long metrical form where a dwarf often stands between twenty giants (Brockes' translation of the "Essay on Man"). He pointed out an inaccuracy in the translation of the very first couplet, but excused it on the ground that he himself could have expressed it in two lines no better.² Entirely different from Gottsched's lukewarm praise is the review in the *Züricher "Freymüthigen Nachrichten"*³ where Müller's translation is made the subject of the most stinging sarcasm. Although inspired by bitter party spirit, it was, as we have seen, not entirely unjustified.

Of Pope's famous satire "The Dunciad," there was, apart from his collected works, but a single German translation in the period under discussion. This lack of interest must not be ascribed to any special aversion in Germany to this particular species of literature. Indeed the many attempts at satire which were made in Germany at this time, inferior though they are, prove quite the contrary. The reason is inherent in the very nature of satire. Its numerous subtle local allusions, its covert attack upon the peculiar weaknesses either of special individuals or of parties are what give it life and interest. Remove it either in time or place from the conditions which gave it birth and much of this interest is lost. It is entirely reasonable, therefore, that the German public with its lack of intimate knowledge of English social and literary conditions should manifest but a slight interest in this work of Pope.

The translation of "The Dunciad" was published in Zürich in 1747, the work of Johann Jakob Bodmer, who, for reasons which will appear presently, concealed his identity under the name of J. D.

¹ "Neuer Büchersaal der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste." Leipzig, I (1745), 252 ff.

² It is interesting to note what Gottsched had to say in regard to Drollinger's translation: "Uns wundert aber, warum er [Müller] von der drollingerischen Uebersetzung dieses critischen Gedichtes nichts gedacht: doch vielleicht hat er sie nicht nennen mögen, weil sie das Unglück gehabt, in einer Sammlung zu erscheinen, die ehrliebende Leute zu kennen, oder zu nennen ein Bedenken tragen."

³ II (1745), 245-48.

Oberek.¹ Bodmer had for years been interested in the satirical works of Swift and Butler, having published the first two books of "Hudibras" in 1739. During his quarrel with Gottsched he was particularly attracted to "The Dunciad" because he saw in the relation depicted there between Pope and his Dunces a singular parallel to the relation between himself and the school of Gottsched. He conceived, moreover, a plan by which Pope's satire might be turned effectively against his own enemies. He gives an explanation of his plan in his introduction in the form of an epistle, "An meine Freunde die Obotriten." The German "Schöpse" he thinks have many things in common with the English Dunces. They are as numerous, they are gifted with the same talents, they have been schooled in the same school with Theobald and Cibber, their works are as long and tedious as those of their English brethren. His first thought was to accompany the translation of Pope's satire with copious notes in which every English Dunce should be made to resign his place in favor of a German. He then proceeds to give a number of illustrations of his method. Thus Pope's lines—

She saw old Pryn in restless Daniel shine,
And Eusden eke out Blackmore's endless line;
She saw slow Philips creep like Tate's poor page,
And all the Mighty Mad in Dennis rage. (Book I, 101-4.)

he gives as follows:

Sie sah den alten Tiz im fleissgen T——r;
Sah K—— B—— Vers noch länger strecken;
Sah Stoppens Blatt mit Weisens langsam kriechen;
Den Unsinn in Person in Krügern rasen.

However, he met with considerable difficulty in carrying out his plan. He could find, he says, in Germany no publisher of Curl's type, who was in the habit of publishing the inferior work of third-rate poets under the name of some great author. Then, too, often two or more names had suggested themselves for the same place. Since he did not wish to deprive a single "Obotriten" of the honor which he could rightly demand, he decided to think the matter over

¹ "Alexander Popens Duncias mit Historischen Noten und einem Schreiben des Uebersetzers an die Obotriten." Zürich, bey Conrad Orell und Comp., 1747.

and get, if possible, suggestions from his friends in Silesia and Saxony.¹ It was evidently Bodmer's intention to carry out his scheme in a later edition of the work, but this was not published, so that his projected German adaptation never appeared.

Bodmer's translation is based on one of the numerous early editions of "The Dunciad" where the work consisted of three books only. In 1742 Pope changed the work considerably and added a fourth book. The few notes which accompany Bodmer's translation were taken from the English edition, but these were by no means sufficient to make the work intelligible to the great majority of his German readers.² The translation itself was far from being as successful as Bodmer's prose version of Milton's "Paradise Lost" of fifteen years before. The reason for this was partly due to Bodmer's personality. The religious epic appealed to him strongly, as shown by his own numerous attempts in that species of literature, while he was attracted to Pope's satire largely through external circumstances. But the more important reason is to be found in the peculiar difficulties which the translator of satire encounters. An intimate knowledge not only of the English language but of English literary history and English manners is absolutely indispensable to the successful translator of "The Dunciad." The language of satire is highly idiomatic and the satirist frequently hides his keenest thrusts beneath some nicely chosen adjective or adverb. It is such subtleties as these that, although felt by the translator, are often hard to reproduce in another language. Against these difficulties Bodmer could not successfully cope. He often omits important adjectives and sometimes entire phrases and adds, occasionally, descriptive words of

¹ That he actually wrote to his friends for such suggestions is shown by his letter to Sulzer, September 12, 1747: "Ich übergebe Ihnen hier eine Anzahl Dunciaden selbige an meine dasigen Freunde zu vertheilen. Ich wollte gerne, wenn man mir dazu mit genugsamen Nachrichten behülflich wäre, den Einfall, in dem Briefe des Uebersetzers an seine Freunde, die Obotriten, gewissermassen weiter treiben; zwar nicht dass ich die Namen der deutschen Schöpfe in den Text setzen wollte, sondern nur in die Noten, um dan zugleich die Uebereinstimmung zwischen den deutschen und englischen Stümpfern anzuzeigen."—"Briefe der Schweizer Bodmer, Sulzer, Gessner. Aus Gleims lit. Nachlasse," von W. Körte. Zürich, 1804, p. 69.

² Giseke, who himself was much influenced by English literature, regrets this weakness of the work in a letter to Bodmer (November 25, 1747): "Ich bedaure," he says, "dass die Sorge das Werk zu theuer zu machen nicht erlaubt haben wird, so viel Anmerkungen hinzufügen, dass es auch für die in der englischen kritischen Geschichte unerfahrenen Leser verständlich genug geworden wäre."—"Litt. Pamphlete aus der Schweiz, nebst Briefen an Bodmern," Zürich, 1781, p. 117.

his own. He sometimes deviates from his text deliberately to make Pope's lines intelligible to his readers, as when, for example, he translates "solid pudding" (Book I, l. 54) by "vollkommene Schinken," or the lines:

Till genial Jacob, or a warm third day
Call forth each mass, a poem, or a play. (Book I, ll. 57-58.)

by

Bisz ein Geburtstag oder hitzges Fieber
Jedweden Klosz, Lied oder Comödie
Befruchtend in das Reich der Wesen rufen.

His choice of blank verse for the translation was determined, no doubt, by his great interest in Milton and his handling of it is fairly skilful when we consider the fact that this was one of the earliest attempts in the use of this meter in Germany.

4. *Later Translations and the Rationalistic Undercurrent*

It has been said that, owing to the new literary movement during the last half of the eighteenth century which reached its climax in the "Storm and Stress," the interest for Pope in Germany passed away almost completely.¹ This statement requires, as we shall see, important modifications. The highly finished style of Pope had always remained the subject of admiration, and there were many who, like Nicolai, were little affected by the antirationalistic tendencies. Others again, as in the case of Wieland, while accepting some of the new doctrines, retained many of the old. These men in all essentials continued even into the nineteenth century the literary principles which predominated before the "Storm and Stress." It is this rationalistic undercurrent, which runs thus side by side with the new movement, that kept alive the interest in Pope. The most obvious proof of this continued interest is the large number of translations which appeared down to the close of the century.

Of the foreign influences which contributed to the German Aufklärung, that of Pope is by no means to be neglected. Lessing and Mendelssohn, among the chief representatives of the movement, learned much from him in spite of their attempt to prove the weakness of his philosophical system.² Although often illogical and contra-

¹ Above, p. 1.

² In "Pope ein Metaphysiker!" Danzig, 1755. "Lessings Schriften," *op. cit.*, vol. 6, p. 409 ff.

dictory, through the exquisite poetic form of his works he did more than anyone else to popularize the philosophy of the English rationalists on the continent. Many thus became acquainted with the "Essay on Man" without ever having even heard of Shaftesbury or Bolingbroke.

It was essentially as a philosopher that Pope was known in Germany during the early decades of his influence. For this reason many felt that the early verse translations had not reproduced the ideas of Pope with sufficient exactness. A prose translation was therefore published serially from 1745 to 1747 in a prominent literary journal of the time which was supposed to answer this purpose.¹ The anonymous translator, Christlob Mylius, was one of the early German Aufklärer, a cousin of Lessing, and during the last years of his life intimately associated with him. Mylius was deeply interested in English philosophy, literature, and science, and the various journals which he edited in whole or in part between 1743 and 1748, show clearly this English influence.²

In the introduction to his translation Mylius frankly acknowledges his inability to reproduce the work accurately enough in verse to do justice to Pope, and he thinks it better to give "this treasure of beauties and important teachings" in faithful prose than to withhold from his countrymen the benefit of such an "excellent and at the same time such an instructive and edifying poem." The matter-of-fact unadorned prose of Mylius gives, on the whole, a fairly accurate rendering of Pope's ideas, but disregards completely the poetic qualities of the work.

The popularity of Pope in Germany reached its climax during the sixth decade. His philosophical system had, by this time, been widely discussed in Germany, so that the Berlin Academy felt itself justified in announcing as a subject for the prize essay for the year 1755 whether Pope's famous dictum, "Whatever is, is right," was

¹ "Bemühungen zur Beförderung der Critik und des guten Geschmacks," Halle, Stück 13 (1745), p. 387 ff.; St. 14 (1746), p. 541 ff.; St. 15 (1746), p. 594 ff.; and St. 16 (1747), p. 695 ff.

² Thus Lessing, speaking of one of these journals, "Der Freigeist" (Leipzig, 1745), says: "Ich weiss es aus dem Munde des Verfassers, dass er sich nie hingesetzt, ein Blatt von demselben zu machen, ohne vorher einige Stücke aus dem 'Zuschauer' gelesen zu haben." "Lessings Schriften," *op. cit.*, VI, 400. Mylius died in London, on the eve of undertaking a scientific journey to America, the money for which had been subscribed by noted German scientists, with Haller as the leader of the enterprise.

to be accepted or rejected. In this discussion the most famous literary men of the period such as Lessing, Mendelssohn, and Wieland took part. The interest in Pope was further increased by the publication of Warton's "Essay on Pope" (1756) which was reviewed at great length in all of the important German literary journals of the time and which was a few years later translated by Nicolai.¹

Among the different works of Pope which were translated during this decade the "Essay on Man" continued to occupy the chief place.² In spite of the better understanding of Pope's works and the benefit of the experience of previous translators, the majority of these efforts showed little improvement over their predecessors. The first of these was in rhymed alexandrines and appeared in Leipzig in 1756 by an anonymous author.³ His dedicatory verses were written in rhymed pentameter, one of the early attempts to use this meter in Germany. He followed the English very closely, translating almost line for line. While he was occasionally happy in rendering Pope's couplets, fidelity to the original frequently led him into the use of Anglicisms and awkward expressions, and his language becomes at times quite unintelligible. We are constantly aware that it is a translation that we have before us.⁴

The second of these attempts came a year later (1757) from Switzerland by a follower of the school of Bodmer, Symon Grynäus.⁵ He had five years before published a translation of Milton's "Paradise Regained" and minor poems, an effort which clearly showed him

¹ "Sammlung vermischter Schriften," Bd. 6. Berlin, 1763.

² This decade produced the first and, outside of Pope's "sämmliche Werke" by Dusch, the only translation of "January and May" under the following title: "Januarius und Maja. Aus dem Englischen des Herrn Pope übersetzt. Leipzig und Stralsund 1754." The work is here faithfully reproduced in prose, but it seems to have had but a limited circulation. Cf. Lessing's review of it. "Schriften," *op. cit.*, V, 213.

³ "Philosophisches Lehrgedichte vom Menschen aus dem Englischen des Herrn Alexander Pope übersetzt. Leipzig, in der Laukschen Buchhandlung, 1756."

⁴ I have, after extensive search, been unable to locate the translation mentioned by Kayser: "Philosophisches Lehrgedicht vom Menschen. Aus dem Englischen von J. G. E. Schmidt; hrsg. von F. G. Freytag. Leipzig, 1756."

⁵ "Vier auserlesene Meisterstücke so vieler Englischer Dichter: als Priors Solomon, Popens Messias, Youngs Jüngster Tag, Glovers Leonidas. Welchen annoch beygefüget sind Popens Versuch von dem Menschen, und desselben Hirtengedichte. Alles, seiner Vortrefflichkeit wegen, aus der Ursprache in deutschen hexametrischen Versen übersetzt. Basel, bey Johan Jacob Schorndorff, 1757."

According to Goedeke (IV, 61) another translation of the "Pastorals" was made by Johann Henrich Smid under the title: "Weissagungen der Sibyllen, nebst den Hirtenliedern des Virgil und Pope. Aürich, 1762."

to be rather unfamiliar with the English language. Quite in accord with the principles of his school, he assumes that only that translator can render Pope accurately who discards the use of rhyme. Thus the fifth German translation of Pope's "Essay," along with the "Messias" and "Pastorals" appears, according to the fashion of the day, in the severe and awkward garb of Swiss hexameters. It is difficult to imagine two poetic styles more different than the highly polished couplets of Pope and the heavy, lumbering verses of Grynäus. According to Lessing, who reviewed the work in the "Berliner Litteraturbriefen,"¹ there is little in these lines of Grynäus to distinguish them from ordinary prose. It would be difficult, he thinks, to find any in the world more careless, and the language he regards as "wässrig," "matt," and "weitschweifig."²

Between 1757 and 1760 was published a prose translation of a miscellaneous collection from some of the best known English writers. Along with selections from Thomson, Glover, Akenside, Gray and others, were four by Pope, none of which had before appeared in Germany, namely "On Mr. Elijah Fenton," "The Temple of Fame," "Windsor Forest," and "To Mrs. M. B. on Her Birthday."³ The aim of the translators, according to the "Vorbericht," was to contribute something toward encouraging and improving the literary taste of their countrymen through English works. The translators are especially to be commended for the accuracy with which they sought to reproduce their English models.

In view of the repeated unsuccessful attempts at translating Pope into German, by this time it was thought by many to be an impossible task to give an exact, undiluted rendering of Pope's thoughts and at the same time to reproduce the much admired characteristics of Pope's style in elegant, idiomatic German verse.

¹ May 10, 1759. Cf. "Lessings Schriften," *op. cit.*, VIII, 79 ff.

² For other similar criticisms of this work see: "Staats- u. gel. Ztgn.," 1759, July 3; also, "Magazin für den Verstand, den Geschmack und das Herz," Altona, 1759. Viertes Quartal, pp. 376 f.

³ "Vermischte Schriften der Engländer. Rostock und Wismar, bey Joh. Andr. Berger and Jacob Boedner." Erste Sammlung, aus dem Thomson, Glover, Congreve, Rochester, und andern, 1757. Zweyte Sammlung, aus dem Congreve, Pope, und Waller, 1758. Dritte Sammlung, aus dem Thomson, Dodsley, Akenside und Gray. 1760. "Grabschrift auf den Herrn Fenton," p. 164; "Der Tempel des Ruhms," pp. 326-49; "Der Forst zu Windsor an den Lord Landsdown," pp. 352-71; "An die Jungfer M.B. zu ihrem Geburtstage," p. 372.

The translations thus far discussed fulfilled fairly well the first but fell far short in attaining the second and more difficult of these requirements.

In 1759 was published a new translation of the "Essay on Man" by Heinrich Christian Kretsch,¹ which attained the distinction of being the most poetic of any that had thus far appeared. Kretsch himself seems to have been a poet of considerable reputation, one of his reviewers² placing him in a class with Haller and in the smoothness and delicacy of his verse even above him. Like several of his predecessors he uses the rhymed alexandrines, which was deemed sufficiently like Pope's verse while it gave the advantage of an extra foot. The English accompanies his translation and he also adds translations of "The Universal Prayer,"³ the "Messiah" and "The Dying Christian to His Soul." Pope finds in Kretsch an enthusiastic admirer and defender. In his dedicatory verses in the heroic couplet he lauds him as the only one who had been able to express the abstruse teachings of philosophy in beautiful verse, and says that in

¹ "Essay on Man. Der Mensch ein philosophisches Gedicht von Alexander Pope. Deutsche Uebersetzung mit der engländischen Urschrift nach der letzten vermehrten Ausgabe. Altenburg, in der Richterischen Buchhandlung, 1759."

² "Hamburgische Nachrichten," II (1759), 477-80.

³ First published in Gottsched's "Neuer Büchersaal der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste," Leipzig, IX (1750), 182-84.

In Germany the deistic tendency of this poem of Pope remained on the whole unsuspected and it was read by many as one of the most sublime expressions of the orthodox faith. In Switzerland, whose literature was still permeated by a strong religious tone, it was especially popular. The circulation of Hagedorn's translation here has already been discussed. Another version in hexameter, along with "The Dying Christian to his Soul," several of Pope's Epitaphs and a list of moral and religious precepts, selected chiefly from the "Essay on Man," appeared in "Auserlesene Poesien aus den meisten und besten Englischen Dichtern. Hierbevor der Frau Rowe Andachts-Uebungen beygefügt, nun aber besonders gedruckt, verbessert und vermehrt. Zürich, bey Heidegger und Compagnie, 1761," pp. 5-21 and p. 128. As stated in this title these poems of Pope appeared in "Gehelligte Andachtsübungen in Betrachtung, Gebet, Lobpreisung und Herzens-Gesprächen von der gottseligen und sinnreichen Frau Rowe auf ihre Ansuchung übersehen und herausgegeben von I. Watts, Th.D., etc. Wie auch einen Anhang poetischer Stücke von Milton, Dryden, Prior, Pope, Watts, Young und anderen." Erfurt 1754. A second edition appeared the same year with Frankfurt and Leipzig upon the title-page, and a revised edition in Bern, 1756. In regard to Lessing's and Weisse's connection with the work see "Lessings Schriften," *op. cit.*, V, 373.

A much better translation in the meter of the original, of which I have found no mention in any bibliographical work, is in a little work entitled: "Zwey kleine Gedichte. Herrn Diacon Lavater in Zürich gewidmet, 1770." The poems are prefaced by a caption of four lines from the "Essay on Man" (Ep. I, 285 ff.); this is followed by "Grab und Ewigkeit," a poem in the meter and general tone of Pope's "Universal Prayer;" then follows "Allgemeines Gebet von Pope. Deo opt. Max. Eine neue Uebersetzung, 1770." The work is to be found in the Stadtbibliothek of Zürich.

spite of the severe conflict that had been and was still being waged for and against him, his work would be read long after the writings of his adversaries were utterly forgotten.

With the exception of Dusch's translation of Pope's works, this work of Kretsch was more widely reviewed than any other translation of Pope during the eighteenth century. The large majority of these reviews are favorable, commending especially the smoothness of the verse and the clearness with which he reproduced the English.¹ One of Gottsched's journals² calls it a translation with which every friend of Pope has reason to be satisfied. The reviewer in the "Hamburgischen Nachrichten" thinks that after Pope has been "translated and criticized to death" Kretsch's rendering makes further translation of these works unnecessary. Not all, however, praised Kretsch's work as unreservedly as this reviewer. Several of the reviews in the Altona and Hamburg journals³ that had clearly been inspired by Dusch regarded Kretsch's attempt, considering his recognized ability as a poet and the unwearied patience and industry which he had expended upon it, as the best evidence of the impossibility of rendering Pope adequately in verse. While it is clear that these criticisms were made not without bias, Kretsch's translation had its shortcomings. To gain clarity and smoothness he was often compelled to expand Pope's lines to twice the length of the original, while occasionally ideas of his own were used to complete the lines. But in spite of this, it remained the most widely read German translation of the "Essay" in the century and found readers in foreign countries as well.

In 1762 was published in Amsterdam a polyglot edition of the "Essay on Man" containing, besides the English, the Latin translation of Am-Ende, the Italian of Castiglioni, Du Resnel's French, Kretsch's German, and the French prose version of Silhouette.⁴

¹ "Göttinger gel. Anzeigen," 1759, pp. 807-8; "Deutsche Bibl. d. sch. Wiss.," IV (1770), 627 f.

² "Das Neueste aus der anmuthigen Gelehrsamkeit," Leipzig, 1759, pp. 705-58.

³ "Freymütige Briefe über die neuesten Werke aus den Wissenschaften in und ausser Deutschland," Hamb. u. Leipz., 1759, pp. 3-11; "Staats- u. gel. Ztgn.," 1759, July 4; "Magazin für den Verstand, den Geschmack und das Herz," Altona, 1759, pp. 371-77.

⁴ "Essai sur l'homme, poëme philosophique par Alexander Pope, en cinq langues, savoir: Anglois, Latin, Italien, François, & Allemand. À Amsterdam, chez Zacharie Chatelain, Libraire, 1762."

These the editor regards as the best translations in these languages, Du Resnel's version being included on account of its graceful verse and Silhouette's because of its faithfulness to the original. The second edition of this work was published at Strassburg in 1772, but without Silhouette's version, and the third edition in 1801 at Parma with the title and a brief introduction in Italian. The purpose of this work was, according to the Strassburg editor, both to furnish a convenient means of learning these languages and to supply at the same time the most necessary knowledge for educating the heart and ornamenting the mind.¹

The years 1762 to 1764 brought forth the first German reprint of Pope's works by Nicolai, a work which supplied a long-felt need.² The numerous translations that had been made of the various works of Pope were at best unsatisfactory. The knowledge of the English language had been rapidly extended in Germany during the last ten years, while the English works printed abroad were expensive and still difficult to acquire. This edition of Nicolai is a close imitation of the 10 volume Warburton pocket edition (London, 1757), and included all the notes and commentaries. It was received with general favor among the readers of Pope in Germany.³ The original intention of the editor was to bring out from time to time reprints of other English authors such as Milton, Addison, Thomson, Shakespeare and Young, a plan which seems never to have been carried out.⁴

It is interesting to note how unreservedly Pope's philosophy, as expounded in the "Essay on Man," was accepted in Germany long after Lessing and Mendelssohn had exposed its weakness. As late

¹ According to Kayser and Heinsius another translation was published in Jena the year as Kretsch's under the following title: "Der Mensch, ein philosophisches dicht. Deutsche Uebersetzung mit der Englischen Urschrift." This, after extensive search, I have been unable to locate, nor have I found it mentioned in any of the important contemporary journals.

² "The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq. Berlin. Printed for Frederick Nicolai, Bookseller." Vols. 1-2, 1762; 3-6, 1763; 7-10, 1764.

³ Cf. "Kritische und Zuverlässige Nachrichten von den neuesten Schriften für Liebhaber der Philosophie und schönen Wissenschaften." Jena u. Leipzig, II (1762), 240 f., and "Altonaischer Gelehrter Mecurius," Altona, I (1763), 48.

⁴ The general plan is stated in the following paragraph from the "Booksellers advertisement" which prefaced the work: "English Literature having found these many years ago, so much lovers in Germany and the adjacent countries, I doubt not, the design [sic!] have form'd to print neat Pocket-éditions of the English Classical Writers, will be very acceptable to the learned world. I thought best to begin my task with the Edition of Mr. Pope's Works, this author being so universally esteemed by all those that have any taste of Poetry or Learning."

as 1772 a learned divine of Halle, Johann Jacob Harder, felt himself called upon to make a new translation of the "Essay," since none of his predecessors had translated it "so that it could be the handbook of a thinking man." In his opinion Pope, of all philosophers, saw most clearly the mainsprings of human action and pointed out in his "Essay on Man" the only rational way to virtue and happiness.

Klotz, the well-known editor of the "Deutschen Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften," stood sponsor for the work and said in his introduction that in spite of an occasional lack of harmony in the lines, it deserved, on account of other qualities, a place beside its competitors. Harder proposed to reproduce in his translation Pope in all his sententious brevity, something which, he thinks, no previous translator of Pope had been able to accomplish. It must be acknowledged that he succeeded remarkably well in this respect, for he reproduced Pope's couplets almost line for line. But to raise his work distinctively above that of his predecessors was clearly beyond his ability, for he lacked the essential characteristic of a Pope translator, that which Kretsch to a considerable degree possessed, namely, the power of poetic expression. His work was received, therefore, indifferently by an age the poetic standards of which were rapidly being raised far above the prosy level of Brockes and Bodmer. One of Harder's critics,¹ after speaking of the mistreatment Pope had received at the hands of his translators, sarcastically remarks that Harder, too, would have to answer on the final judgment day on Parnassus and that Pope, if he could see himself in this garb, would certainly recall his famous dictum, "Whatever is, is right."²

The severity of this criticism probably finds explanation in the fact that another translator of Pope's "Essay," Johann Georg Schlosser, had an interest in the journal. Schlosser, although a lawyer by profession, was a great lover of polite literature, and was associated with many of the most noted literary men during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. He was a friend of Goethe, became in 1773 his brother-in-law, and was associated with Goethe, Herder, Merck, and others, in the publication of the "Frankfurter gelehrten

¹ "Frankf. gel. Anz.," I (1772), 718 f.

² But see also the more favorable comments in the "Neuen Hallischen gelehrten Zeitungen," VI (1771), 753; and "Almanach d. d. Musen," Leipzig, 1773, p. 132.

Anzeigen" of 1772. Schlosser had, some ten years before the appearance of his translation in 1776, been engaged in writing in English heroic couplets in imitation of Pope a refutation of Pope's philosophy as set forth in the "Essay on Man," in which he attempted to show that man could be unhappy in spite of the perfection of the universe as a whole, and that revealed religion, disregarded by Pope, which shows man to be the final aim of creation, offered the only true comfort. Four books of the work were at that time completed and translated by him into German prose. Ten years later, after he had become much more conservative in his view of life and felt himself unable to complete the work, he made merely a rough draft of the fifth and final book in German and turned over the manuscript together with a prose translation of Pope's "Essay" to a friend, who published both together in one volume anonymously.¹ This translation of the "Essay" which was appended to the "Anti-Pope" probably for purposes of comparison, while written in clear, vigorous prose, cannot be said to add anything of importance to the numerous translations already in existence. The time had passed when prose, whatever its particular merits, was accepted as a satisfactory vehicle for translating any of Pope's works.²

The storm of criticism which Dusch's translation of Pope's works had called forth had done much to curtail its circulation. At any rate, during the twenty years following its issue no second edition of the work was published. In 1778, after the history of its first publication had generally been forgotten, a new edition was offered to the public.³ According to a statement by the editor⁴ this was a part of a comprehensive scheme of a society in Mannheim,⁵ whereby all the works of the most noted foreign literary men were to be made

¹ "Anti-Pope oder Versuch über den natürlichen Menschen. Nebst einer neuen prosaischen Uebersetzung von Pope's Versuch über den Menschen." Leipzig, 1776, in der Weygandschen Buchhandlung. The book was also published with the same title and date but different pagination in Bern, by Beat Ludwig Wallhard.

² In a review in "Almanach d. d. Musen," Leipzig, 1777, p. 118, this translation was regarded as the best that had thus far appeared.

³ "Des Alexander Pope Esq. sämtliche Werke mit Wilhelm Warburtons Commentar und Anmerkungen," Bd. I-VII, Strasburg, druckts Heitz und Dannbach, 1778; Bd. VIII, Mannheim, 1779.

⁴ "Nachricht an das Publikum," Bd. VIII.

⁵ The "Deutsche Gesellschaft." It numbered among its members Klopstock, Lessing, Wieland, and Schiller. Cf. B. Seuffert, Geschichte der deutschen Gesellschaft in Mannheim, "Anz. f. d. Altertum," VI (1880), 276 ff.

easily accessible to the German public. The best of the older translations were to be used and if necessary improved, and where translations did not exist new ones were to be made. The plan, which included about fifteen of the best known English writers, was never fully carried out. Pope had the honor of being the first of the foreign writers to be edited. The edition was an exact reprint of Dusch's work with all its mistakes. A long list of corrections and improvements were added, however, in the last volume¹ by Professor G. Eckert, who had the editing of this particular work in charge. These corrections were inserted in the text itself in the new edition that followed shortly after² and to which had been added by the editor a translation of Pope's correspondence, omitted by Dusch.³

The four translations of the "Essay on Man" which followed Schlosser's during the next fifteen years may likewise be regarded as contributing little to what had already been accomplished. The first of these is in prose by Benignus Pfeüfer from the Italian of Anton Philipps Adami, and was published in 1783.⁴ With the

¹ Bd. VIII, "Verbesserungen," pp. 239 ff.

² Mannheim, 1780-85, in 13 vols.

³ This was the only translation of Pope's "Letters" made during the eighteenth century that may be regarded as of any importance, although a number of individual letters or small collections had been published during this period. These are as follows: "Ein curiöser Brief des Herrn Pope's an den Hertzog von Buckingham" in: "Eine Sammlung allerhand auserlesner Moralischer und Satyrischer Meister-Stücke, aus dem Englischen übersetzt." Andere Probe, Berlin und Leipzig, bey Johann Andreas Rüdigers, 1783, pp. 235-244. "Pope im 48sten Brief an D. Arbuthnot" in: "Freymüthige Nachrichten," etc., Zürich, II, 195-96. "Abgesonderte Gedanken aus Pope's Briefen" in: "Die neusten Sammlungen vermischter Schriften," Zürich, bey Johann Kaspar Ziegler, 1754, II, 263-93. "Miscellaneous Letters. Vermischte Briefe aus den besten Eng. Schriftstellern in ihrer Originalsprache, nebst beygefügter deutscher Uebersetzung mit einem Anhang von Kaufmannsbrieffen, ehemals von Herrn Theodor Arnold, bey dieser zweyten Auflage aber aufs neue übersetzt und zum Theil mit bessern Originalen versehen von M. J. J. Ebert. Leipzig und Züllichau, in der Waysenhaus und Frommannischen Handlung. 1763." About 30 letters from Pope are included here. This was, no doubt, a textbook intended primarily for Ebert's English classes at the Carolinum in Braunschweig, where Pope generally constituted a part of the curriculum. Cf. "Gelehrte Beyträge zu den Braunschweigischen Anzeigen," Bd. III (1763), St. 28: "Der Hr. Prof. Ord. Ebert wird in diesem halben Jahre, da er in dem vorigen mit denen, die die Anfangsgründe der Englischen Sprache gehört haben, auserlesene Stücke aus dem Tatler, Spectator, nebst einigen Popischen Briefen gelesen, darin fortfahren, und darauf zu leichtern poetischen Stücken übergehen." Kayser also quotes the following, which I have been unable to locate: "Popes Freundschaftlicher und literarischer Briefwechsel aus dem Englischen von G. K. S. Strebel. Nürnberg, 1761."

⁴ "Grundsätze der Moral, oder Alexanders Poppe [sic!] Versuch über den Menschen aus dem Italienischen Antons Philipps Adami ins Teutsche übersetzt von Benignus Pfeüfer. Bamberg, bey Vinzenz Dederich, Buchhändler. 1783." According to Kayser the work also appeared the same year with Frankfurt u. Leipzig upon the title-page. I have been unable to find such a copy. Adami's translation appeared in Padua, 1765.

exception of the anonymous verse translation of 1741, made from the French, this is the most distorted version of Pope's "Essay" that appeared in Germany. The translator, as he confesses in his introduction, knows no English and is not even familiar with Pope's name.

The second appeared the same year in Hamburg with Jakob Mumsen as its author.¹ We have here the first attempt at translating the "Essay on Man" in blank verse. When we consider, however, the great progress that had by this time been made in Germany in the use of this meter, Mumsen's use of it is clumsy indeed. Besides his very rough lines, his translation is not always as exact as the words in his title "eine genauere Uebersetzung" would lead us to expect, while at times his meaning is concealed by his awkward constructions. A revised edition appeared in 1809 in which the author claims to have corrected the inaccuracies of the first edition. But his corrections were few and were confined to rather unimportant details, so that the chief weakness of the work, its meter, remained practically unchanged.²

In 1790 another blank verse translation, of a similar character, which had evidently been sent to the editor of the "Neuen Teutschen Merkur" for criticism, was reviewed in that journal.³ Owing, no doubt, to the severity of the review, the complete translation never appeared in print. The fact is of special interest since Wieland was the reviewer and since he incidentally states the principles which in his opinion should guide every translator. He should follow the original closely but never to the extent of deviating from the idiom

¹ "Versuch über den Menschen von Alexander Pope. Eine genauere Uebersetzung. Hamburg, bey Hoffmann, 1783."

² His ignorance of the essential laws of rhythm in blank verse may be seen, for example, in his translation of the following lines:

Ask of thy mother earth, why oaks are made
Taller or stronger than the weeds they shade!
Or ask of yonder argent fields above
Why Jove's satellites are less than Jove! (Epistle I, ll. 39-42.)

Frag deine Mutter Erd, warum die Eichen
Viel höher wachsen als das Kraut, das sie
Beschatten? Spähe nach in jenen Silber-
Gefilden drüben, warum Jupiters
Trabanten kleiner sind als ihr Planet? (Epistle I, ll. 49-53.)

Both editions were unfavorably reviewed. Cf. e.g., "Allgemeines Verzeichniss neuer Bücher mit kurzen Anmerkungen," Leipzig, VIII (1784), 600; and "Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände," Dritter Jahrgang (1809), Uebersicht der neusten Lit. No. 16, p. 63.

³ LXX, 200-9.

of his own language, or of misrepresenting the spirit or character of his author before his readers. Not infrequently, he thinks, it is necessary in justice to his author for purposes either of clarity or elegance to avoid his constructions, reproducing the original in less or in two or three times as many words. The style and the language of the author should be clearly distinguished and the former should be followed only in so far as is possible without violating the grammar, the usage and other peculiar characteristics of the language into which one translates. This, in his opinion, is a principle especially to be observed in Pope, whose unusually condensed style is a universally admired characteristic, and this is the principle which he finds his translator has most flagrantly violated.

This is likewise the fault of the translation in rhymed alexandrines which was published anonymously the following year.¹ The translator, according to his introduction, clearly sees the difficulty of his task and understands the principles according to which he must proceed. But in following them out he fails utterly. His translation is inaccurate and lacks clearness and harmony. Indeed, some of his passages are quite unintelligible apart from the English. At the close of his work he adds "Das allgemeine Gebet" and notes on the "Essay on Man." These are largely his own, either explaining the text or comparing the ideas of Pope with those of other writers.

Far more successful was the work of Friedrich Heinrich Bothe, a young writer of some promise, and known perhaps better as the translator of a collection of English Ballads, published in 1795, the year following the publication of his Pope translation. In 1793 Bothe had printed, through Gleim's encouragement and at his expense, the first epistle of the "Essay on Man," together with a few translations from the Greek.² The "Probe" was favorably reviewed in the "Allgemeinen Literaturzeitung"³ where he received important suggestions for improving what he had published and sufficient

¹ "Alexander Popes Versuch über den Menschen. Leipzig, bey Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf und Compagnie, 1791." This is not Mumsen's translation, as Goedeke (VIII, 715) suggests.

² "Probe einer Verdeutschung von Popens Versuch über den Menschen. Nebst einer Uebersetzung der Kriegslieder des Tyrtäus, von Friedrich Heinrich Bothe. Berlin, 1793."

³ 1793, cols. 310-12. Also "Neue Bibl. d. schönen Wiss.," LI (1794), 275.

encouragement to finish the work. The complete translation in which he had made use of the hints which had been given him appeared the following year and was dedicated to his patron Gleim.¹ It was accompanied by the English and by copious notes, partly his own, partly translated from the English edition which he used.²

Bothe, like Kretsch, had considerable talent as a versifier. Unlike any of the other translators of the "Essay on Man" in this century, he made use of the verse of the original interspersed with longer or shorter lines and occasionally other rhyme schemes. He introduced this variety, according to his introduction, because he felt the iambic pentameter to be too monotonous and solemn for a poetic epistle. But the more important reason was, no doubt, the difficulty of finding always the required rhyme, a problem which, as he himself acknowledged, caused him much trouble. Bothe is sometimes very happy in rendering Pope's lines, and excels Kretsch in adhering more closely to Pope's meter and style. Only occasionally is he inaccurate and prosy and compelled for metrical reasons to expand Pope's ideas unduly. He, himself, lays no claim to a perfect reproduction of Pope, but in spite of these deficiencies this must be regarded as the best German translation of the "Essay on Man" which the eighteenth century produced.³

We have still to add the blank verse translation of Broxtermann, published in 1798, a work which had no special merits above those

¹ "Alexander Pope's Versuch über den Menschen in vier Episteln an den Lord St. John von Bolingbroke. Englisch und deutsch mit Anmerkungen. Nebst den Kriegsliedern des Tyrtäus. Von Friedrich Heinrich Bothe. Halle in der Curtschen Buchhandlung, 1794."

² Pope's "Works," London, 1787.

³ The work was critically reviewed in the "Allgemeinen Literaturzeitung," 1795, cols. 557-60.

In 1794 were published two other unimportant translations, neither of which I was able to locate in the leading libraries of Germany: "Versuch über den Menschen; eine genaue Uebersetzung. Wien, Schaumberg und Comp., 1794." (Cf. Goed. VII, 697.) Whether this is a new translation, or merely a reprint of one of the many already discussed, I am unable to say. The other is a prose translation by G. F. Niemeyer in "Sammlung aus einigen der berühmtesten englischen Dichter, nämlich Pope, Milton, Dryden, Waller, Prior, Congreve, Gay, Young, Thomson, Gray, Akenside, Addison, Shakespeare, übersetzt von dem Verfasser des Greises an den Jüngling." Vol. I, Hannover, Ritscher, 1794. According to a review in the "Neuen allgemeinen deutschen Bibliothek" (XIX, Kiel, 1795, pp. 187 ff.), this volume is devoted to Pope and contains translations of the "Essay on Man," "Eloisa to Abelard," and "Sappho to Phaon." The reviewer thinks Pope, on account of his choice diction and beautiful harmony, to be the last poet who could be satisfactorily rendered in prose.

already reviewed.¹ The cause for its existence was to furnish an enterprising editor with material for the first volume of a contemplated series of translations of foreign didactic and narrative poems. The chief merit of the work is the fidelity with which the English is reproduced, its chief weakness the utter lack of every spark of poetry, both in its diction and in its meter.²

Besides the prose translation of Dusch in Pope's "Sämmtlichen Werken" (1758-64), no other complete German translation of the "Essay on Criticism" appeared until Eschenburg's was published in 1795.³ J. J. Eschenburg (1743-1820) was one of the leading literary mediators between England and Germany during the latter half of the eighteenth century, and the importance of his services in this direction has by no means been fully recognized. Born and reared in Hamburg at a time when English influence began to make itself strongly felt there, he later attended the University of Göttingen, known at this time for its strong interest in things English, and subsequently accepted a professorship in literature and philosophy in Braunschweig, where he, enjoying the friendship of such men as Ebert and Zachariä, was surrounded by a decidedly English literary atmosphere. As a result of this, Eschenburg acquired a wide acquaintance with English literature, which soon became evident through his extensive activities in this field. In addition to his well-known Shakespeare translation, he became also the chief interpreter to the Germans of his day of the more recent English aesthetic

¹ "Alexander Pope's Versuch über den Menschen an St. John Lord Bolingbroke. Eine metrische Uebersetzung, mit den nöthigsten Anmerkungen und Wilhelm Warburtons Commentar. Von T. W. Broxtermann. Osnabrück, in der Hofbuchhandlung bei Karl und Comp., 1799." The work has a second title-page: "Blüthen des Auslandes. Eine Sammlung von Uebersetzungen vorzüglicher besonders didactischer und erzählender Gedichte. Erstes Bändchen. Popens Versuch über den Menschen. Osnabrück, etc., 1798."

² There were in addition to these translations also two English editions of the "Essay on Man," which were published in Germany, apart from the collected works: "An Essay on Man. By Alexander Pope, Esq. A new edition, corrected. Mentz, printed for J. F. Schiller, 1786." Also: "A Philosophical Essay on Man, in four Epistles to H. John, Lord Bolingbroke, by Alex. Pope. Mit Bezeichnungen der Aussprache und Erklärung der Wörter, zum Selbstunterricht von J. H. Emmert, Professor zu Tübingen. Erfurt bey W. Hennings. 1797." Pope's "Essay on Man" thus became, along with Young's "Night Thoughts," Thomson's "Seasons," and Goldsmith's "Vicar of Wakefield," an elementary textbook in Germany for students of English.

³ "Pope's Versuch über die Kritik, verdeutscht von J. J. Eschenburg. Berlinisches Archiv der Zeit und ihres Geschmacks. Berlin, bei Friedrich Maurer," I (1795), 189-95; 270-83; 384-91. Two other editions of this translation with the English text were published in Wien in 1799 and 1800.

criticism by his annotated translations of the works of Daniel Webb, John Brown, Bishop Hurd, and Charles Burney. He was the first editor of the Hamburg "Unterhaltungen,"¹ a magazine reflecting the deep interest of its editor in English literature, and later published his "Brittischen Museum für die Deutschen"² and its successor, "Annalen der Brittischen Litteratur,"³ which were devoted exclusively to English literature and the material for which was entirely drawn from English literary journals and critical works. His "Entwurf einer Theorie und Litteratur der schönen Wissenschaften"⁴ also shows an intimate knowledge of English criticism and the "Beispielsammlung zur Theorie und Literatur der schönen Wissenschaften,"⁵ which was intended to furnish the illustrative material for the "Entwurf," contains many selections from English literature. Pope seems to have been his favorite, for he quotes him more frequently than any other author.⁶

In view of Eschenburg's reputation as an English scholar and a critic, and the general excellence of his Shakespeare translation, we should expect from him a translation of the "Essay on Criticism" far above the standard set by the translators of the "Essay on Man." In this we are disappointed. It is difficult to understand how Eschenburg, who himself claimed to be somewhat of a poet, could produce a work which in poetic expression and rhythm was so inferior as this translation, especially when we consider the time in which it appeared. He makes the mistake of using blank verse, which at its best would tend to destroy an essential characteristic of Pope's style, his sententiousness. He uses a blank verse, more-

¹ For the years 1766 and 1767 (4 vols.). The magazine was continued by Wittenberg and Ebeling to 1770.

² Leipzig, 1777-80, 6 vols.

⁴ Berlin u. Stettin, 1783.

³ *Ibid.*, 1781.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1788-95.

⁶ On account of the importance of the work, it will not be out of place to cite the works of Pope which he here reprints. Vol. I (1788), pp. 148-72, "January and May"; pp. 270-74, "The Temple of Fame" (vss. 137-243); pp. 418-21, "Winter." Vol. II (1788), pp. 38-39, "On a Certain Lady at Court" and "Epitaph. On Mr. Elijah Fenton"; pp. 165-169, "Prologue to the Satires"; pp. 291-300, "Essay on Man" (Ep. III, vss. 109-268) and "Moral Essays" (Ep. I, vss. 99-173). Vol. III (1789), pp. 116-20, "Essay on Criticism" (vss. 68-200); pp. 253-56, "Windsor Forest" (vss. 147-258); pp. 407-10, "To Miss Blount, with the Works of Voiture." Vol. V (1790), pp. 403-9, "The Rape of the Lock" (Canto III). Vol. VI (1791), pp. 241-65, "Eloisa an Abälard nach Pope;" by Eschenburg, both English and German; pp. 380-84, "Ode for Music on St. Cecilia's Day." Vol. VIII (1795), pp. 117-23, Pope's letter to Hugh Bethel, June 17, 1728, and one to Dr. Arbuthnot, July 26, 1734.

over, that rises little above the level of mere prose. Like many of the translators of the "Essay on Man," he attempts a line-for-line reproduction, and to attain to this literalness he finds himself compelled to sacrifice Pope's poetic qualities.¹ Only rarely is he guilty of inexactness, however, as for example when he translates Pope's "wits" (vs. 38) by "poet," or "open vowels" (vs. 345) by "Gleichlaut."²

There was a similar attempt at the close of the century to revive an interest in two other works of Pope that, on account of changed literary ideals, had for several decades been practically forgotten. These are the "Rape of the Lock" and the "Moral Essays." After Zachariä's admirable imitations of Pope's mock-heroic about the middle of the century,³ the species degenerated into insipid trivialities which soon became disgusting to the public. It was due to this as well as to a growing interest for a literature of a deeper moral and emotional content that the interest in the mock-heroic gradually died out. The only translation of Pope's "Rape of the Lock" which appeared in Germany during the last half of the century is no contradiction to this statement, for it is nothing more than a distorted shadow of Pope's work.

This was published in 1797 by G. Merkel.⁴ It is interesting to note the unqualified admiration this translator still has for Pope at

¹ The following lines from the beginning of the "Essay" will illustrate this weakness:

Schwer ists zu sagen, ob mehr Ungeschick
Wer schlecht schreibt, oder schlecht beurtheilt, zeigt.
Doch, minder sündiget, wer die Geduld
Ermüdet, als, wer den Geschmack verfälscht.
Wie Jener, sünd'gen Wenige; wie Dieser,
Verfälschen Viele. Gegen Einen, der
Schlecht schreibt, urthellen zehn verkehrt; sonst macht
Ein Dichterling allein sich lächerlich;
Jetzt macht er viele Narr'n in Prosa mehr.

² In the "Wiener Musenalmanach auf das Jahr 1794" (pp. 21-25) was published a "Probe einer Uebersetzung von Popens Versuch über die Kritik" by J. F. Ratschky. It is a translation of the first 45 lines of the Essay in alexandrines.

In addition to this should be mentioned the Latin version: "Alexandri Pope de Arte Critica Liber. Essay on Criticism. Poema Anglicum carmine latino reddere tentavit Jo. Jac. Collenbusch, Ecclesiastes Breckerfeldensis. Dessau 1782." The English text accompanies the translation and the main purpose of the work, according to the introduction, was to furnish a convenient text for those wishing to combine the study of Latin and English.

There appeared also the following German reprint of the Essay in English: "An Essay on Criticism. Written in the year 1719. By Alexander Pope Esq." Halle, printed by J. J. Gebauer, 1758.

³ The best of these, "Der Renommist" was published in 1744.

⁴ "Der Lockenraub, ein scherzhaftes Heldengedicht von A. Pope, frey und metrisch übersetzt von G. Merkel. Leipzig, bey Joh. Gottlob Feind, 1797."

the very close of the century. Voltaire's statement made in 1726, in which he calls Pope the greatest poet not only of England but of the whole world, he thinks could still be accepted in its widest significance, if Germany had no Wieland. Goethe and Schiller do not seem to enter his mind in this connection.

He knows, he says, of but a single translation of the "Rape of the Lock," namely the prose version of Dusch in the collected works of Pope. He tries to account for this by the fact that this kind of work presents greater difficulties in translation than any other. Wit, he thinks, is of all products of the human spirit the most fleeting. To make a work like the "Rape of the Lock" intelligible, therefore, without a commentary, it must be modernized. This is the principle upon which he proceeds in his translation. The result is that he distorts the meaning in Pope's poem beyond recognition. To make his work the more interesting to his German readers, he substitutes German names for the English, while in other parts he drags in German names for no purpose whatever. He adds much material of his own and freely omits or changes the text. But instead of clarifying Pope's work for his German readers, the translator reduces it to a chaotic mass of meaningless hexameters.¹

A translation of four of Pope's Epistles in 1800² shows a similar attempt to awaken an interest in a species of literature all but dead. These efforts, however, especially the numerous translations of the "Essay on Man" which had appeared during the last quarter of the century furnish excellent evidence of the tenacity with which no inconsiderable part of the cultured German public still clung to ideals essentially in opposition to the prevailing literary taste of the time.

¹ Mention should also be made here of the translation of two passages of the poem under the title: "Proben einer neuen Uebersetzung von Pope's 'Lockenraub'" by an anonymous author signing himself "D." The parts translated were Canto I, vss. 47-142, and Canto III, vss. 19-100: "Deutsche Monatschrift," Leipzig, I (1798), 89-96.

² "Moral Essays in Four Epistles to several Persons. By Alexander Pope, Esq., with explanatory Notes. Vienna, printed for R. Sammer, Bookseller, 1800." With a second title: "Moralische Versuche in vier Briefen an verschiedene Personen. Aus dem Englischen des Alexander Pope übersetzt, mit erläuternden Anmerkungen. Wien bey Rudolph Sammer, Buchhändler, 1800." The work is anonymous and contains no introduction. It is in prose, both the English and the German text being given of the first four Moral Epistles.

A translation of Epistle I was also made by Samuel Gottlieb Bürde and published in the "Schlesischen Monatschrift," I (1792), 281-91.

5. *Pope and the Beginnings of German Romanticism*

While the translations just discussed were primarily produced and read by men who represented the declining rationalistic movement, Pope was not without interest for those who stood for the new literary ideals. In England, Byron's great interest in Pope is the most notable example. Among the German writers of the Storm and Stress movement a prominent illustration is found in Lenz, who was at the same time a most extravagant worshiper of Shakespeare. Before going to Strassburg he had translated the "Essay on Criticism" and while there he read before the famous literary coterie which had gathered there in the years 1770 and 1771 a translation of Pope's first "Dialogue" from the "Epilogue to the Satires," presenting it as a model for satire. In the preface to this translation he calls Pope a writer from whom one could never arise without feeling himself larger, nobler, and freer.¹

But there are also several works of Pope which, on account of their emotional or lyric content, were in perfect accord with the romantic tendencies of the last half of the century. These are principally "Eloise to Abelard" and the "Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady," but there should also be added here, on account of their lyric qualities, the two odes, "On St. Cecilia's Day" and "The Dying Christian to His Soul." These pieces, all of them composed in the author's earlier years, found little favor in Germany until the eighth decade when the Storm and Stress movement was well under way, showing in this respect a decided contrast to his other works.

The translation of "Eloise to Abelard" made from a French version and published in 1760 has already been mentioned.² Five years before this a prose rendering of the poem from the original, together with a translation of an English version of the correspondence between Eloise and Abelard,³ was published in Berlin and

¹ Lenz sought a publisher for his translation of the "Essay on Criticism" in Berlin on his way to Strassburg, but without success. Neither of the translations appeared in print. Cf. Karl H. Clarke, Lenz' Uebersetzungen aus dem Englischen, "Zs. f. vergl. Litg.," Neue Folge, X (1896), 413 ff.

² Above, p. 9.

³ The anonymous author merely states that his source for these Letters is English. It is probably Hughes's translation from the French made in 1714, which is also regarded as Pope's source.

Potsdam.¹ The translator attempts to reproduce the original closely, but his lack of perfect familiarity with the English language is everywhere apparent.² The extremely wooden prose into which the work was cast robbed it of all its original beauty, so that it received but little attention.³ This was likewise the fate of a Swiss translation in blank verse published in 1768 anonymously.⁴ Although not always accurate, it expresses far better the high poetic quality which Pope's work possesses and deserved on this account more general recognition.

The individualistic tendencies of the latter part of the century, along with the growing insistence upon a deeper emotional content in literature, aroused a new interest in the lyric. The German Volkslied and the English ballad became the object of serious study, so that the trifling and insipid verses of the Anacreontic poets were rapidly being supplanted in the early seventies by a more serious and soulful expression in the lyrics of men like Hölty, the Stolbergs, Matthias Claudius, and especially Goethe. It is due chiefly to this movement that the lyrical pieces of Pope were at this time beginning to receive greater attention.

Schmid's "Anthologie" for the year 1771 brought forth reprints of both Mendelssohn's and Kretsch's translations of "The Dying

¹ "Die Geschichte und Briefe des Abelards und der Eloise, in welchen ihr Unglück und die verdrieszlichen Folgen ihrer Liebe beschrieben sind. Nebst einem Gedichte Eloise an Abelard von Alexander Pope. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt. Berlin und Potsdam, bey Christian Friedrich Voss, 1755."

Ramler in a letter to Gleim, September 14, 1748, refers to a translation that had appeared in a moral weekly published in Jena. This I have been unable to trace. Ramler says: "Es ist auch in Jena eine Wochenschrift herausgekommen: die Wochenschrift nach der Mode genannt. . . . Die Uebersetzungen sind das einzige Gute an dieser Chartesque. Plutarch von der Neugierigkeit, Popens Brief der Eloise an den Abelard und ein Traum von dem Nachruhm aus dem Englischen Schwätzer sind von diesem deutschen Schwätzer übersetzt." Briefwechsel zwischen Gleim und Ramler, hrsg. von Carl Schüdekopf. Bd. I, Tübingen, 1906.

² Mistakes like the following occur: "to the hollow wind" (l. 156) = "dem hohlen Wege" (p. 233); "And swelling organs lift the rising soul" (l. 272) = "und aufgeblasne Segel die empörte Seele erheben" (p. 239); "In each low wind methinks a Spirit calls, and more than Echoes talk along the walls" (ll. 305-6) = "In jedem sanften Winde ruft ein Geist, und etwas mehr. Denn der Wiederhall redet längst den Mauern" (p. 241).

³ The contemporary journals generally ignored it, although Lessing published a notice of it in the "Berlinischen privilegierten Zeitung," 1755, St. 45. Cf. "Schriften," *op. cit.* 7, 23. In this he merely calls attention to the story of the two lovers, but makes no comment on the translation.

⁴ "Poetische Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen und nach dem Englischen. Zürich bey Füesslin und Compagnie, 1766." The copy which I have examined is in the Stadtbibliothek of Zürich. The copy in the British Museum lacks the title-page, but is the same in every other respect. In the printed catalogue the probable date of the work is erroneously given as 1780.

Christian to His Soul”¹ and the following year an anonymous rendering of the somewhat frivolous “To Lady Wortly Montague.”² Herder likewise was attracted to “The Dying Christian to His Soul” and published two years later a reproduction of it which appeared in a number of reprints, the one most widely circulated being that in Schmid’s “*Almanach der deutschen Musen*.”³ With slight changes this version was set to music by Freiherr von Dalberg and performed with considerable success.⁴ This translation of Herder’s was followed in 1793 by another by Bürde, the translator of Milton’s “*Paradise Lost*.”⁵ The popularity of Dryden’s “*Alexander’s Feast*,” which had been successfully produced in Germany in Händel’s musical setting, attracted attention likewise to Congreve’s “*To Harmony*,” and Pope’s “*On St. Cecilia’s Day*,” which treated the same subject. As early as 1758 Christian Felix Weisse published a translation of Pope’s ode in the appendix to his “*Scherzhaften Gedichten*,” and it appeared again together with translations of Dryden’s and Congreve’s odes in later editions of his poems.⁶

Another attempt at translating this work of Pope with but indifferent success appeared in the “*Teutschen Merkur*” of 1796.⁷ More happy in overcoming the special difficulties which the changing movement of this ode imposed upon the translator was Kosegarten, who, like Weisse, reproduced also the odes of Dryden and Congreve.⁸

It is somewhat surprising that Pope’s “*Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady*” was not more popular in Germany during the last quarter of the century when literature was so generally characterized by the expression of emotion and sentiment. The character of the “*unfortunate lady*” is thoroughly romantic and Pope produced nothing which in genuine tenderness and pathos exceeds this poem. The only translation that was made of it in Germany during this

¹ II, 344 f.

² III, 334.

³ Leipzig, 1776, p. 191.

⁴ In regard to the various reprints of this translation both with the musical setting and without, cf. “*Herders Werke*,” D.N.L., 74, p. 446, note.

⁵ Voss’s “*Musenalmanach*,” 1793, pp. 67 f.

⁶ In his “*Kleinen lyrischen Gedichten*,” Leipzig, 1772, sec. ed. Wien, 1793. For “*Popens Ode auf die Musik*” see former ed., III, 173 ff.

⁷ II, 97 ff. The translation is signed “D.M.”

⁸ “*Rhapsodien von Ludwig Theobul Kosegarten*.” Leipzig, 3 Bde., 1790–1801. III, 14 ff., “*Preis der Tonkunst*. Nach Pope.”

period was that of G. L. Spalding¹ whose extremely stiff and halting alexandrines could convey to his German readers no notion of the beauty of the English poem.²

The love of the morbidly sentimental, which found its expression at this time in the numerous imitations of Goethe's "Werther" and of works like Sterne's "Sentimental Journey," awakened likewise an interest in Pope's "Eloise to Abelard." This work, published as early as 1717, makes Pope one of the forerunners of the Romanticists, for its spirit was essentially out of harmony with the age which produced it and forecast, through its genuine emotional content, the coming of a new era. It is no doubt on account of its decidedly romantic tendencies that Pope came later to look with disfavor upon this remarkable work of his earlier years. In Germany the period of greatest popularity of "Eloise to Abelard" falls into the last two decades of the eighteenth and the first of the nineteenth century. During the twenty-five years between 1779 and 1804 no less than ten different translations of the poem were published, while the two most important of them, those of Eschenburg and Bürger, were several times reprinted.

Eschenburg's "Eloise an Abelard" in blank verse, published in his "Brittischen Museum für die Deutschen" in 1779,³ was the first German translation of the work that attracted any considerable number of readers. We have already seen the method which Eschenburg followed in his Pope translations. Possessing a critical rather than a poetical faculty, he adhered closely to the thoughts of his author, often at the expense of smoothness of verse and choice of expression. This we saw was the weakness of his "Versuch über die Kritik." However, in his "Eloise an Abelard" he avoided most of

¹ First printed in Voss's "Musenalmanach," 1793, pp. 51 ff., and again in Spalding's "Versuch didaktischer Gedichte," Berlin, 1804, pp. 64 ff. In regard to a criticism of this translation, cf. "Neue Bibl. d. sch. Wiss.," 1793, XL, 114.

² Here are also to be included a few of the less important translations made from Pope. These are: "Grabeschrift, nach Pope" ("Well then, poor G. lies under ground"), by L. Herz, "Wiener Musenalmanach," 1792, p. 34; and by the same: "Uebersetzung des ersten Psalms zum Gebrauche junger Mädchen. Nach Pope," *ibid.*, 1793, p. 90. "Der Werth nach Pope," Schiller's "Musenalmanach," 1799, p. 173. About twenty of Pope's shorter poems were reprinted in Jos. Retzer's "Choice of the Best Poetical Pieces of the Most Eminent English Poets," 6 vols. Vienna, 1783-86.

³ V, 345 ff. It appeared again with the English text in Eschenburg's "Beispiel-sammlung"; see above, p. 38. With the original and Bürger's translation it was reprinted in Wien, 1799, and again with the English, Wien, 1800. (Cf. Goedeke, VII, 715.)

these glaring faults in his blank verse and reproduced with considerable success the solemn cadence of Pope's verse and the deep passion that speaks through his lines.

This translation of Eschenburg was followed in 1784 by another in prose.¹ In a short preface the editor regards this work of Pope as one of those to which every new translation brings new interest. "Unvergesslich," he says, "sind in der Geschichte Abelard und Eloise. Unvergesslich ist in Europens Dichtkunst Popens vortreffliche Heroide, die er in Eloisens Seele dichtete." The translator, who signs himself "v.A.," he regards as a man of more than ordinary genius.² However, this prose translation, although carefully done, did not bring the new interest which was promised, because it failed to give the reader an adequate idea of the high poetic qualities of the work.³

Of all the German translators of Pope during this century Bürger possessed the greatest poetic gifts. His "Heloise an Abelard" stands out distinctly from among the other Pope translations of this period.⁴ The tragic passion of the work no doubt attracted him, for that was the sort of subject in which he felt himself master. It is hardly to be expected that a poet like Bürger, with his love for rhetorical flights, would reproduce a work of this sort without coloring it with his own peculiar poetic genius. His method of translation was, therefore, entirely different from that of Eschenburg. He had no special regard for the letter of his original, his chief aim being rather to reproduce in his own way the same passionate emotions which Pope had put into his poem. He never hesitated, if it suited

¹ "Eloise an Abelard, nach Pope." Für Aeltere Litteratur und Neuere Lectüre. Quartal Schrift. Leipzig, hrsg. von Canzler und Meisner, II, 37 ff.

² I have been unable to find any reference to the previous separate print of this translation which the editor mentions in the preface.

³ A translation of the "Messiah," likewise in prose, was published the same year under the following title: "Der Messias, eine geistige Ekloge. In einer Nachahmung des Pollio des Virgils. Uebersetzt aus dem Englischen des Herrn Pope." Preface signed "L.W.H.T." and dated Braunschweig, 1784. The English text accompanies the German.

⁴ First published in Göttinger "Musenalmanach," 1793, pp. 3-32. The work was practically completed as early as 1791. In a letter to A. W. Schlegel, dated October 31 of that year, Bürger says: "Meine Reimkunst in der Nuz ist auch fertig; sowie auch Popens Heloise an Abelard fast zu Ende gediehen ist. Letzteres ist ein gar feines Werklein."—"Briefe von und an Gottfried August Bürger." Hrsg. von A. Strodtmann, Berlin, 1874. IV, 136. With a free prose translation by J. Rothstein and one in French by Colardeau it was reprinted by Orell, Füssli und Compagnie, 1803.

his purpose, to rearrange, to omit entirely, or to expand Pope's thoughts, so that the translation is much longer than the original poem. He used Pope's own method of translation, to a certain extent making of the English work a German original.¹ Some of his friends to whom he sent his translation before it was published felt that he had overstepped the limits of the translator by injecting into it too much of himself. Thus Caroline Böhmer writes to F. L. W. Meyer: "Eloise ist ein paarmal Bürger geworden."² Georg Forster in a letter to Bürger praises the work highly and thinks that he has overcome very successfully the difficulties which face the German translator of English works. "Nach den Abänderungen die wir wünschen," he continues, "wird Ihre Arbeit unter den poetischen Uebersetzungen immer um die Oberstelle ringen."³ Similar praise was likewise given in a review in the "Neuen Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften." "Die Fülle des Ausdrucks," the reviewer says, "der Wohlklang der Versification, der rasche Gang durch die mannichfaltigsten Empfindungen erheben diese Heroide zu der Klasse der besten Werke dieses Dichters und so mit zu dem Vorzüglichsten, was unsre Sprache in dieser Gattung besitzt."⁴

During the same year another translation in alexandrines by E. A. Schmid was published in the "Neuen Teutschen Merkur."⁵ The work, however, is of no special merit for it not only fails to reproduce at all adequately the deep emotional quality of the work, but the translator is frequently compelled for the sake of rhyme to omit some of the most striking figures of the poem.⁶

In spite of the great variety of translations that had already appeared, the great popularity of "Eloise to Abelard" during the early years of the Romantic school brought forth a number of new versions including one in Latin hexameter by G. L. Spalding, whose own work shows him to have been an industrious student of Pope.⁷

¹ While Bürger was at work upon his translation of Homer, Pope's translation was the subject of frequent comment between himself and his friends. Cf. "Briefe," etc., *op. cit.*, I, 324; II, 187; III, 67 and 143.

² G. Waitz, "Caroline," Leipzig, 1871, I, 99.

³ "Briefe," etc., *op. cit.*, IV, 207.

⁴ XL (1793), 93.

⁵ LXXIX, 378-407.

⁶ According to Goedeke (VII, 715) another metrical translation appeared in "Ubiens Musentafel," 1799.

⁷ "Eloisa Abelardo" in "Versuch didaktischer Gedichte," Berlin, 1804, pp. 212 ff.

The best of these translations is that by Sophie Mereau (Brentano), who was able to combine with considerable success poetic form and fidelity to the original.¹

CONCLUSION

The close connection between the literary doctrines for which Pope stood and those of the French classical school, represented chiefly by Boileau, assured an immediate and wide popularity of Pope in France. Through the numerous translations and criticisms of his work which appeared there as a result of this popularity, Pope first became generally known on the continent. On this account a number of the early German Pope translations were made indirectly from the French.

There were, however, two German literary centers that had maintained since the third decade a direct literary connection with England, chiefly through their interest in the English moral weeklies. These were Hamburg and Zürich. From these centers came the first German translations of Pope made directly from the English. In Hamburg it was Brockes who first interested himself prominently in Pope and who in his translation of the "Essay on Man" produced the first of a series of Pope translations which came from northern Germany. In Switzerland the Bodmer-Gottsched controversy materially furthered this interest in Pope in that both parties sought to justify their literary doctrines by his example. It was due to this dispute that the first German reproduction of the "Essay on Criticism" and "The Dunciad" were made.

The climax of Pope's popularity came in the sixth decade when Lessing, Mendelssohn, and Nicolai became his chief interpreters. The translations made during the latter half of the century owe their existence chiefly to the two more or less clearly defined literary currents which ran through this period. The declining Rationalistic movement perpetuated the interest in those works of Pope which, like the "Essay on Man" and the "Essay on Criticism," represented best those literary doctrines. The rising Romantic movement, on the other hand, sought by numerous translations to popularize those works of Pope which on account of their Romantic tendencies had, up

¹ "Kalathiskos von Sophie Mereau," Erstes Bändchen, Berlin, 1801, pp. 105-32.

to this time, aroused little or no interest. The majority of the translations of the most important of these, "Eloise to Abelard," fell thus into the last years of the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth century.

The translations themselves were, for the most part, inferior in character, the reasons being: first, the general ignorance of the English language, especially during the earlier years of the period; secondly, the undeveloped state of the German poetic language; thirdly, the special difficulties which Pope offered to his German translators, such as his extreme brevity and his polished diction, which were difficult to imitate and without which his thoughts often appeared commonplace.

These numerous efforts to reproduce the much admired characteristics of Pope's style contributed no inconsiderable share to the rapid development which the German poetic language underwent during the last half of the century.

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